MIRACLE ON ASTOR PLACE—ROBERT A. BEDOLIS

THE Nation

September 25, 1954

20¢

In the matter of
J. Robert Oppenheimer . . .

An American Tragedy

by Waldo Frank

The Defeat of E. D. C. *Alexander Werth*

Report from the Midwest *Robert G. Lewis*

Edinburgh Festival *Bernard Landis*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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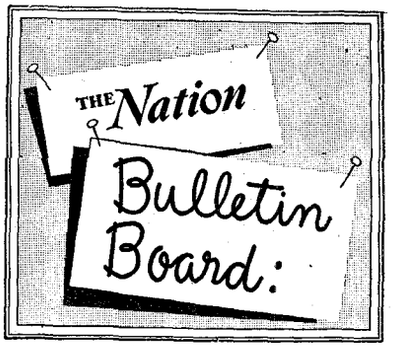

AFTER A LOOK at the bulky transcript of the Oppenheimer hearings, one of the editors decided it might well be reviewed as a novel. The idea was broached to Waldo Frank and he agreed to take on the job of reading the 992 pages of small type. His review, An American Tragedy, appears on page 245.

MOST OF the magazine industry has been hard hit circulation-wise this year. Some of the "giants" are down as much as 10 and 15 per cent—and the downward trend seems to be continuing for most. In the face of this it is pleasant to report that this year *The Nation* circulation is 5 per cent above last year's. What with Maine going Democratic, pro-McCarthy candidates losing out in Wisconsin, and the circulation of *The Nation* going up, 1955 may well be a banner year for liberals.

ONE OF Western Germany's religious leaders, Dr. Gustav Heinemann, attended the recent meeting of Protestant churches from all over the world at Evanston, Illinois, and stopped off at the *Nation* office on his way home. He reported that *The Nation* is greatly admired in liberal German circles and plans an article for us dealing with the position of the major non-party groups in West Germany on the question of German rearmament.

IN AN EARLY issue we will run The Face of Violence, by J. Bronowski—a lucid explanation of the role of violence in modern societies. We predict it will occasion wide comment and make Bronowski better known to American readers. Educated at Jesus College, Cambridge, senior lecturer in mathematics at University College, Hull, 1934-42, Bronowski served with the Chiefs of Staff Mission to Japan in 1945-46 and since June, 1950, has been director of the Central Research Establishment of the National Coal Board. He is the author of a remarkable play "The Face of Violence," "William Blake, a Man Without a Mask," and "The Common Sense of Science." His article, The Dilemma of the Scientist, which appeared in the August 14 issue of *The Nation,* attracted a good deal of attention.

A RECENT survey made by Duke University's Sociology Department shows that Editorial Director Carey McWilliams, author of upward of a dozen books ("Factories in the Field," "Witch Hunt," "Brothers Under the Skin," "A Mask for Privilege," and others) is among the American writers on contemporary problems most cited in textbooks on sociology.

Earlier this month McWilliams took part in a panel discussion on Anti-Intellectualism sponsored by a division of the American Psychological Association. One of the panel members held that anti-intellectualism is not a new phenomenon, that it has always been present in our culture, that there is no need for undue alarm today, and that the present trend will abate. McWilliams said today's anti-intellectualism goes much deeper than it ever has gone before, that it is not merely a crackpot attitude but a policy sanctioned by various acts of government. He cited the loyalty programs, the character of Congressional committee hearings, and the nature of the material found in F. B. I. files as proof of this.

Incidentally, Boston readers of *The Nation* will have the opportunity to hear McWilliams at the Reverend Donald Lothrop's Community Church in that city. He will speak there on Sunday, October 10.

THE SENSATIONAL STORY in next week's special issue, The Great Giveaway —which we hope readers in droves will be ordering—was forecast by Contributing Editor Bruce Catton when the Republicans came into office. In February, 1953, he wrote: "They are coming in hungry, and they are not hungry for peanuts. The vast public-utility, oil, mining, and lumber interests that supported the Republican campaign are getting ready to move in on America's natural resources, and what they want is all the country has got. The new Administration is prepared to make things easy for them, and the program is beginning to be clear. It adds up to what is probably the greatest raid on the national wealth ever contemplated."

Catton's prediction has come true—in spades! Though there have been no little black bags, what has been going on in Washington makes Teapot Dome look like a penny-ante deal. *The Nation,* by the way, is the *first* national publication to bring you the full story. (See advertisement in this issue for special rates on extra copies.)

A READER sent us the following item: A woman in New Hyde Park, New York, who wants to ban an assortment of books from the school libraries in her community, says "We have true democracy in our school district. We can ban a book on our own."

For items of a similar nature sent to me —which we can publish—I will send readers the current selection of our book club, The Nation's Choice.

MARTIN SOLOW

Letters

Another Deportation

Dear Sirs: I wonder whether *The Nation* is aware that a situation like that described in Hannah Blum's article on David Hyun (issue of August 28) exists here in New York City. Two young Koreans, Mr. and Mrs. Kwak, are scheduled for deportation to South Korea. These two, like David Hyun, have been lifelong opponents of Syngman Rhee.

During World War II Mr. and Mrs. Kwak gave up their careers as musicians in order to aid in the war against Japan. They compiled a Korean-English dictionary for the use of the United States military forces and performed other invaluable services for the United States.

Only a successful appeal to the courts can bar their way to persecution and probable death in South Korea. They ask only that they be allowed to go to a land of their own choice. Considering how long the war in Korea was protracted by this very question, the right of prisoners to go where they chose, is it not ironic that Mr. and Mrs. Kwak are denied that right?

It is quite obvious that our government during World War II distrusted Rhee. Must they die now because they are the enemies of Rhee? I urge readers of *The Nation* to support their request in communications to the Department of Immigration.

New York SYLVIA PRICE

In a Nutshell

Dear Sirs: The present situation may fairly be summed up thus. Allen S. Dulles procures information from paid spies, who are obviously more interested in their pay than in giving trustworthy information. John Foster Dulles uses this information as the basis of the foreign policy of the United States. The Information Services publish a slanted view of the information to support that foreign policy. Next comes President Eisenhower, who announces a policy of defending Formosa without mention of seeking Congressional authority for a war with China, as our Constitution requires. Now comes Admiral Stump, who says in effect that a war with China will begin at the will of Admiral Stump.

Berkeley, Calif. CHARLES B. COLLINS

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THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Adrenalin for Adenauer

If ever a man needed a shot in the arm to recuperate after a severe shock it was Dr. Konrad Adenauer, whose Christian Democratic Party was decisively defeated in the first important contest since the rejection of E. D. C. by the French National Assembly—the election of a new Landtag in Schleswig-Holstein. The shot was administered by Secretary Dulles, whose sudden visit to Bonn, according to reports, left the seventy-eight-year-old Chancellor looking at least twenty years younger. Mr. Dulles's promise that the era of delays is over and that Germany will get its sovereignty and its army—no matter what happens at the London meeting on September 27 or the session of the NATO Council in October—was surely of immense value to Dr. Adenauer. It is unlikely that the Dulles move will succeed in silencing the growing opposition to the Chancellor's policy. Even the German Free Democratic Party, next to Adenauer's party the most important in the Bonn coalition, has been outspoken in its criticism.

It was significant that after the vote in the French National Assembly people in West Germany showed no ill feeling against France or its Premier. On the contrary, it was Dr. Adenauer who was attacked because of his bitter defiance of Mendès-France and the decision of the French Parliament. This popular reaction seems to justify the statement of James P. Warburg, in his excellent letter in the New York *Times* of September 16, that "if one takes the view that a Franco-German *rapprochement* rather than a German military contribution is the keystone of the arch of Western security, then the death of the E. D. C. may turn out to be a blessing in disguise, since it frees all concerned from commitments and opens the way to a reexamination of the premises."

For the German Social Democrats, victors in the Schleswig-Holstein election and second largest party in the country, the way out is clear. They are pressing more strongly than ever for four-power talks. The party is against remilitarization—under NATO or any other plan—before the last possibility is exhausted of achieving German unity through negotiation with Russia. Its position on Mr. Dulles's policy is summed up in this official statement by the party leadership: "Without France and against France no integration of the *Bundesrepublik* and no Germany army."

In Europe's China Shop

Secretary Dulles's lightning tour to Europe last week was in the worst tradition of the Eisenhower foreign policy. Perhaps he intended only to frighten—and offend—the French by rushing to Bonn and settling things with Chancellor Adenauer while by-passing Paris. But what he succeeded in doing was to affront the British as well as undercutting Foreign Minister Eden's proposals to Bonn, France, and the E. D. C. countries. That Mr. Dulles's call on Sir Winston and Mr. Eden ended as pleasantly as it appeared to is a tribute to British decorum. The atmosphere may also have been improved by Mr. Eden's natural annoyance with the French for their reluctance to accept his plan for a solution of the German rearmament problem based on the Brussels treaty. As the London *Economist* remarked, the Dulles performance suggested "the appearance on a small stage of a second star trying to jostle the first out of the way." Confusion, it pointed out, was the result.

The British did at least succeed in putting over the proposed nine-power meeting in London, which Washington had been resisting. But instead of gathering to consider Mr. Eden's well-defined plan the conferees will now be confronted also with Mr. Dulles's apparent preference for the arming of Germany directly as a member of NATO, and with counter-proposals containing the further safeguards demanded by M. Mendès-France. It will be a miracle if out of this mishmash any common attitude can be evolved.

Reduced to its simplest consequence one can only say that once more Mr. Dulles's clumsy intervention has succeeded in setting ally against ally, increasing French fears and German impatience, and further complicating the immensely difficult issues that now bar the way to a European settlement.

Union Welfare Funds

The exposure by the New York State Insurance Department of union-welfare-fund abuses has brought about the suspension of officials of five locals affiliated with the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, C. I. O. These and other officials under investigation received lavish salaries, automobiles, and sundry other benefits from funds collected for the protection of the members. The R. W. D. S. U. is to be commended for moving so promptly against these men. However, it should be noted that they represented only some 3,500

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members in five locals as against the total union membership of 140,000.

In this issue, Robert A. Bedolis tells the story of District 65 of the R. W. D. S. U. In view of the investigation, it is pertinent to note that this organization of 28,000 was investigated by the State Insurance Department and given a clean bill of health; that the union and employers jointly retained the accounting firm of Price, Waterhouse to conduct an impartial audit of its books which showed the operation of its fund to be wholly in accord with sound principles. The union, in contrast to those under fire, does not permit any official to draw a salary from the welfare fund; administrative costs, which run between 25 per cent and 35 per cent in unions named in the probe, are held below 7 per cent by District 65.

It is inevitable that these probes, highlighted by flamboyant newspaper headlines, should cast a shadow on the operations of all labor welfare funds. Yet, such great unions as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, United Mine Workers, and Ladies Garment Workers operate welfare funds amounting to tens of millions of dollars, all of them free of even a whisper of corruption. With Congress due to get into this particular investigating act, it is important to remember that the unions exposed are far from representative of the labor movement as a whole.

Election Bulletins

The political news of the past fortnight can be summed up in a phrase: the Republicans are in trouble. On the Maine returns, our special correspondent, Frank Sleeper, of the Portland *Press Herald,* provides expert analysis in this issue. But from Wisconsin also comes word of heavy Democratic voting strength, as is shown in the close margin between Representative Charles Kersten (see The Kersten Show, *The Nation,* September 4), one of McCarthy's best-known lieutenants, and Henry Reuss, winner of the Democratic nomination, in the Fifth Congressional District, and also in Representative Lester Johnson's vote in the Ninth—the largest Democratic primary vote in the history of the district. It is significant, too, although not surprising, that the veteran Fred R. Zimmerman, a consistent opponent of McCarthy, won the Republican nomination for Secretary of State without official backing. But Mr. Zimmerman is unbeatable in Wisconsin under any conditions. In New York's first Congressional District (eastern Long Island) a McCarthyite contender made a miserable showing in the Republican primary.

In Colorado former Representative John Carroll, in a bitter contest, won the Democratic Senatorial nomination over Mayor Quigg Newton of Denver. With "Uncle Ed" Johnson as candidate for governor—in the past he has

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tended to look on Carroll as a rival—the Democrats would seem to have an excellent chance of capturing the state and of sending John Carroll to the Senate, which would be as good news for the rest of the country as it would be for Colorado. In the wake of these primaries—and it was a real wake for the Republicans—came the announcement that Senator McCarthy would make only three campaign speeches—two in Illinois, one in Nebraska. But more significant than any of these developments, perhaps, is the revolt of the prairie farmer, as reported by Robert G. Lewis in this issue. Mr. Lewis has studied political trends in the farm belt at close range over a period of years; his views weigh heavily with us. But add the score as you will, it doesn't look good for the Republicans.

One development on the current political scene, however, falls in a somewhat less hopeful category. In Representative Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., and Averell Harriman the Democrats have two excellent candidates for governor of New York. But Mr. Harriman's fine qualities can hardly be cited as justification of the summary fashion in which the Democratic Party in the state was informed that it must accept him and reject Mr. Roosevelt. The tone and manner of Mr. Di Sapio's statement hark back to an era in New York politics which we had been assured could not be repeated under the new Tammany leadership. For the sake of intra-party democracy as well as to insure his own future, we hope that Mr. Roosevelt will not abide by this high-handed ruling.

Nationalism in the Philippines

In a surge of economic nationalism the government of the Philippines has decided to drive foreigners out of retail business. Under a recently enacted law the alien owner of a retail store may continue to operate it, but the license is not transferable and within six months of the owner's death the heirs must liquidate the business. It is frankly conceded—see the *Philippine Free Press* of May 29—that the measure is aimed primarily at checking the economic expansion of the 200,000 resident Chinese, most of whom are in retail trade. While 88 per cent of the licenses are held by Filipinos and only 12 per cent by Chinese, the Chinese-owned stores control, it is estimated, about 57 per cent of total retail turnover. The measure could seriously endanger the $150,000,000 American investment in the islands if "retail trade" is interpreted to include companies that import and retail oil or that assemble automobiles for sale. The Americans are protected to some extent by provisions in the executive agreement of 1946, but the Chinese cannot appeal to any former agreement or treaty. Nor can they easily avoid the consequences of the law by becoming citizens. Naturalization is a time-consuming, expensive, and incredibly difficult process.

A Guide to Security

BY NORMAN REDLICH

IN deciding that Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer is a security risk, the Personnel Security Board of the Atomic Energy Commission set down an invaluable set of rules for government employees who want to avoid Dr. Oppenheimer's fate. Lest these excellent criteria be lost to posterity in the board's lengthy report, we list some of them herewith.

1. Never agree with anyone who is not also a government employee so that no one can accuse you of a "tendency to be coerced" or to be unduly "influenced" by outsiders.

2. In dealing with fellow government workers, you are free to express opinions and "deep moral convictions" with the following limitations:

a. You should limit your opinions to your field of "special competence"; in other words, if you are a physicist, you should express no views on politics, religion, or the Brooklyn Dodgers.

b. Your opinions should be incapable of influencing anyone. Otherwise you may be called upon to "re-influence" them in case your opinions do not happen to coincide with official government policy.

c. Any opinion which does not coincide with the theory that the United States must have the "strongest possible offensive capabilities," regardless of the possible effect on the country's defensive potential, you had better keep to yourself.

3. You must support the government's security system by:

a. Avoiding all independent judgment "with respect to the loyalty and reliability of other citizens" lest you be called "arrogant."

b. No matter how long-standing the friendship, or your own opinion as to their loyalty, you must terminate all association with people who have been termed a security risk or who have invoked the Fifth Amendment before a Congressional committee.

c. Report to the F. B. I. immediately all derogatory information you may receive about anyone—friend, stranger, or relative.

d. Never recommend a security risk for a job even if it is a job outside the country which involves no security, like selling Armenian rugs in the Place de l'Opera.

4. If you have any spare time, you should also become a "loyal citizen" to whom the nation owes "a great debt of gratitude for loyal and magnificent service" and who shows a "high degree of discretion reflecting an unusual ability to keep to himself vital secrets." But remember that you can become all of these things and yet end up like Dr. Oppenheimer unless you also conform to Rules 1, 2, and 3.

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SPAIN AND THE U. S. A.

Anniversary of a Treaty . . *by J. Alvarez del Vayo*

SEPTEMBER 26 marks the first anniversary of the American treaty with Franco Spain. An objective analysis of its practical results would show that so far they have been meager. And such an analysis would still leave untouched the issue of principle: whether there can be a legitimate alliance between the nation which has assumed world leadership of a democratic crusade and the single surviving fascist dictatorship in Europe.

As to the question of how far the construction of United States air bases in Spain has advanced, reports vary. Madrid does everything possible to give the impression that the new airfields, which are to turn Spain into one of the chief bases of the United States air force in Europe, are hives of activity. But reports from Washington indicate a growing dissatisfaction with the progress being made. After a year of "preparation" work is about to begin on air-base construction worth $60,000,000 at Torrejon (near Madrid), at El Copero (near Seville), at Morón (also near Seville), and at Zaragoza. Some $19,000,000 have been allocated for the development of naval bases, and there are ambitious plans for a pipeline to link the air bases with one another and with Cartagena, site of the important Escombra refinery. But on the Spanish side this work is being started without much enthusiasm and the local authorities are constantly afraid of sabotage.

The effect of the treaties on Spain itself is easier to gauge. It would be naive to deny that the Franco regime has gained prestige through its alliance with Washington. It has also gained financially. Spain's reserves of foreign currency, in alarming decline before the treaty, have since been replenished. But the improvement in the general situation has been slight, since the sums earmarked for developing communications—especially railroads—are only a fraction of what Spain needs.

In a well-documented article appearing in the current issue of *Harper's*, F. George Steiner, an American on the staff of the London *Economist*, has this to say: "Spain is in so unhealthy a state that the intake of unearned dollars in large quantities will merely bring more inflation. Already the release of 3.5 billion pesetas in counterpart funds has meant an increase in fiduciary circulation equivalent to nearly 15 per cent of the Spanish budget." In simple terms what these figures mean for the Spanish people is the deterioration of a standard of living already appallingly low. One year after the treaty hunger is still the dominant characteristic of Spain.

Precisely for this reason opposition to the treaty has spread in the most unexpected circles. Today its critics are to be found in the three chief institutions supporting the regime—the Falange, the army, and the church.

Elements in the Falange, Spain's only legal party, charge Franco with having sold the nation's independence for a few million dollars. Every time one faction shouts "Gibraltar," another replies, "The treaty has turned the whole of Spain into an American Gibraltar," or "Why should England give back Gibraltar? So that it, too, can be sold to the Americans?" Mr. Steiner points out how dissatisfaction with the treaty has contributed to the growing antagonisms inside the Falange. That supposedly monolithic organization is turning into a conglomeration of factions, with Republicans and even Communists in its ranks. Steiner is especially accurate when he says: "The average Spaniard is a shrewd and suspicious observer. In many cases he has already convinced himself that American aid will not be of use to him."

In spite of undoubted benefits the treaty has brought to the army—training and equipment for its modernization—many military experts are beginning to realize what they should have known from the terms of the treaty: the largest part of the $226,000,000 to be spent in Spain under the Mutual Security Act will be used for those military purposes that directly benefit the senior rather than the junior partner.

The more militant, and dominant, wing of the Catholic hierarchy in Spain also regards the treaty with suspicion rather than satisfaction. It dislikes any orientation toward the West and explicitly opposes help from Protestant sources. The clergy did their best to keep American personnel out of Spain altogether and, failing that, to segregate Americans within the confines of the bases. These conditions were naturally refused by Washington, but the continuing hostility of the church is illustrated by the closing last week of a church in Madrid belonging to the American Baptist Convention. It was charged with "illegal proselytizing." Spain is now the scene of a new wave of anti-Protestant acts. One of the paradoxes of modern politics is that a predominantly Protestant country like the United States should have become the chief support of a regime sworn to the persecution of Protestantism. One can imagine the flood of protests that would appear in the American press if a Baptist church should be closed in Russia.

THE treaty has also intensified the demand, even from persons close to Franco, for a solution of the ticklish problem of the succession. The Duke of Maura, a devoted Monarchist and one of Spain's most distinguished historians, has recently produced an able and severe criticism of the regime under cover of a "serene examination" of this problem. The Duke would never have dared make such a strong attack if the atmosphere in Spain had not radically changed of late. As it is, his statement is circulating all over Spain in mimeographed form.

Another document widely commented upon in Spain is a serious technical study of the treaty by Pablo de Azcárate, former Assistant Secretary General of the League of Nations, recently in the service of the United Nations. A recognized authority on international relations, Mr. Azcárate shows that the Franco government has put its signature to a treaty which authorizes American

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intervention not only in the military affairs of Spain but also in its financial and monetary policy, including the preparation of the state budget. Azcárate puts his finger on the most neuralgic point of Spanish susceptibilities when he says that since the Franco government has agreed to turn Spain into a concentration base for American planes carrying A-bombs and H-bombs, the country will be exposed to immediate atomic reprisals if World War III breaks out. "This would mean Spain's total destruction," he concludes. The prospect has provided anti-government propaganda in Spain with an unparalleled popular appeal. The argument will have even greater effect if international tension rises and the threat of war grows more imminent.

An effort has been made, both on the Spanish and on the American side, to make the presence of the United States in Spain as inconspicuous as possible. But some 400 Americans, 280 belonging to the armed forces, are there on missions connected with the carrying out of the treaty. The people of Madrid see a growing number of cars marked "U. S. A.-Germany Forces." These cars appear most frequently in front of the sumptuous new Air Ministry on Romero Robledo Street and the España skyscraper, where the "principal contractor" —the person in charge of the United States relations with Spanish firms looking for dollars—has his office. The label "U. S. A.-Germany Forces" is surely symbolic. To the Spanish people it seems to unite West Germany and Franco Spain, the two "replacement allies" chosen by the Pentagon to compensate for the loss of E. D. C.

A Madrid cable on September 11 from United Press correspondent Peter Knox, appearing in the New York *Prensa,* states that in the "agonizing reappraisal" which is sure to come if efforts to find a substitute for E. D. C. fail, official circles are sure "Spain will be assigned a most important part in the military future of the Continent." Knox gives interesting details about the closer American-Spanish collaboration that has come with the defection of France and the growing sense of crisis in Western Europe: "In the new plans for the peripheral defense of Europe, the United States will depend on bombers and other types of planes stationed in Spain to face any act of Communist aggression. The United States air force, using Spanish bases, will be able to attack the faraway Soviet territory. Though the United States has a series of bases in Europe and parts of North Africa, it is the Spanish bases, protected by the Pyrenees, that are regarded by experts as most valuable for the ultimate defense of Europe."

It is certainly curious that this interesting U. P. cable was not published in the chief New York newspapers. I don't know whether it was because the story seemed indiscreet from a military point of view or because Mr. Knox concluded his report with the following significant and honest comment:

> It is the purely military aspect that makes the Spanish bases so important; but at the same time American democracy is involving itself in too many future risks for a country where there have been no elections for almost twenty years and where freedom of expression is non-existent. As long as the regime of Generalissimo Franco continues, the United States can trust Spain in its fight against communism; but it is difficult to predict what will happen after the Caudillo disappears, since nobody knows what the Spanish people think.

In all modesty I believe I *do* know what the Spanish people think. And I can say without hesitation that the question of the "succession" should be worrying not only the Duke of Maura and Spaniards generally but even more the American government.

AN AMERICAN TRAGEDY

The Oppenheimer Case . . *by Waldo Frank*

THE transcript of the hearings before the Personnel Security Board of the Atomic Energy Commission runs to nearly a million words. It is not comfortable reading. Spoken speech without the presence of the speaker flattens to the elliptical; syntax is often lost as new thoughts invade. The matter here is both complex and repetitious, touching depths without exploring them. And one encounters sentences like this by David Lilienthal: "It is the reasoning that I adduced was not the reasoning in substantial part the reasons that are stated in the G. A. C. report and that is evident by reading it." Yet the drama of this "matter" is so intense, so archetypical, so symbolic and relevant for the lives of us all, that the fat tome of the United States Printing Office becomes an experience like a great novel. Here, for those who lack time to read its 992 pages, is a glimpse of the story.

The reader is soon immersed in a climate, pervasive, obsessive, like a nightmare: a climate of unchallenged axioms and dogmas.

1. The world has only two parts: the United States and Russia.

2. These two parts are joined in absolute opposition. For America, Russia is "the enemy"; Russia's one interest in America is to destroy it.

3. America's security, in terms of *fact* and *act,* is a matter of weapons to be brandished or to be used.

4. Although each individual American may have values that transcend physical security and survival, values that may move him to risk life for them, the nation shall have no such values. Its supreme aim, like the beast's, is to survive. For the individual, values dearer than life; for the individual's nation, life at the cost of all values.

5. In the three weeks' hearing the

WALDO FRANK, novelist and critic, contributed a widely discussed article, The "Anti-Communist Peril," to The Nation *of June 19.*

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word *genocide* is not used; the relevance of fission and fusion bombs to genocide is not mentioned.

6. There is occasional reference to "our civilization" and to the fact that fission-fusion bombs might destroy it. There is no inquiry into the nature of this civilization; into the bond between the bomb and the culture which produced it; into the perilous possibility that the bomb, *even if not used, even if merely made,* to "defend" this civilization, might undermine it and destroy the values of the men and women who live within it.

7. Although Russia and communism are the ever present "other" in this schizoid world, there is no hint by any of the free-ranging witnesses, who are not limited by court procedure, that deeper understanding of Russians and communism, of our mutual hostility and of *ourselves,* might contribute to defense and survival; and that some of the traits of which Oppenheimer is accused might make him a national asset for such understanding.

Of course, the business before the board is to measure the man by specified rules as a security risk. But Oppenheimer's personal motives and the nation's needs are a constant presence in the meanings of his conduct. His *character* is the issue. And the problems involved belong to politics, history, sociology, psychology, ethics, religion. They are never pursued beyond a superficial range within the reach of a schoolboy.

SO MUCH for the ideological scene and climate. What of the actors? The most emotional of the forty witnesses are the men of science. Within their concrete minds glows love for the accused. They have worked with him; they do not understand his former associations, and when the board prods them to explain, they are simply sure that this is a loyal and safe man. They cannot analyze their conviction (as they can analyze the atom), because love is in it. And this same quantum of the man that makes most of them love, makes a few of them hate: the victorious few—Teller, Latimer, Borden, Pitzer, et al. The hate also is below the threshold of intellectual conviction. "He is the most persuasive man in the world!" cries Dr. Latimer, with no hint of why this persuasiveness is a peril. Dr. Teller, presiding genius of

J. Robert Oppenheimer

the H-bomb, has nothing definite to say against his enemy: not that he is disloyal or unsafe, not even that he opposed or discouraged the project. But the same quantum which others love and which moves Oppenheimer to be less than passionately *for* the H-bomb, moves Teller—who loves the bomb as his own child—to hate him.

The bumptious General Groves, the sedate security officer, Colonel Lansdale, have more cause than the scientists to doubt this ex-radical and inventor of "a cock-and-bull story"; they trust him, nevertheless. "I want you to know," exclaims Lansdale in a talk registered by planted dictaphone, "that I like you personally, and believe me, it's so! I have no suspicions whatever and I don't want you to feel that I have. . . ." A quality in the man moves those who know him to love or hate *beyond*—not necessarily *against*—their rational convictions about him.

With others, the motivations are not personal; in their minds, clearly, Oppenheimer "stands for something" and they're against it. Roger Robb, the board's counsel, for instance. The hearing is not supposed to be a "trial." But Robb is nakedly the prosecutor, working for a kill. He uses both net and poniard. Even the brilliant Lilienthal is tangled by him. When Dr. Von Neumann, generous-minded mathematician, is challenged to explain Oppenheimer's tale about the physicists and gropes for a psychological clue to help his certainty that Oppenheimer is both loyal and safe, Robb tosses him out:

> Robb: One further question, doctor. You have never had training as a psychiatrist, have you?
> Neumann: No.
> Robb: That is all.

One cannot doubt what Robb's stand would have been had a psychologist been called to shed light on Oppenheimer's vacillations. But Robb's aggressiveness at times exceeds what a pettifogging lawyer in a more carefully restricted court of law could get away with. Dr. Vannevar Bush expresses outrage at a "paragraph" in General Manager Nichols's letter of charges which implies that Oppenheimer is being impugned for his opinions. In its original form this item is merely part of a very long paragraph which the New York *Times,* following common newspaper usage, has broken into several—for greater readability—but without changing the text by a word. Robb tries to trip Bush on the fake point that he is complaining about a "paragraph" that doesn't exist! This might have effect before a jury of twelve bewildered men. But Robb is working for a board of three experts. Clearly he is moved by an intellectual—or an anti-intellectual—passion.

CHAIRMAN Gordon Gray's emotional state is not so lucid; and his muddled language shows it. There is conflict in Dr. Gray, formerly Secretary of the Army, now president of the University of North Carolina. Unto the end he keeps insisting that the board has not yet made up its mind—protesting too much. Often he seems to plead with an eminent witness, justifying the board's "rights" and "duties." He needs to appear just; to preserve the esteem of these men of power who are fighting for the accused; above all, he needs to be "correct" in his obeisance to the unspoken dogma that is the hearing's climate. Oppenheimer, as we shall see, is not a prophet. But Gray's role recalls that of

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the grand inquisitor in Dostoievski's novel—or of Caiaphas, the sincere high priest whose love of the official order is so pure that he finds blasphemy in all dissent. At times this strongest motive of Gray flashes sharp and free, like lightning from a storm cloud. When John J. McCloy, formerly of the Department of War, now of the Chase National Bank, testifies that "all of the scientists, I believe, but certainly Dr. Oppenheimer, were in favor of dropping the bomb on Japan," and goes on to speculate how Oppenheimer's misgivings about the H-bomb could be legitimate, Gray summarily silences the witness. When Dr. Walter Whitman, head of chemistry at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, corroborates two previous witnesses in their "feeling" that perhaps it was unwise to proceed with the H-bomb *before a new attempt was made to get Russia to agree not to produce it,* Gray ignores the supposed freedom of the hearings and shuts him off sharply.

Whitman: I do not feel that the future of civilization—

Gray: I don't question your feeling. *I don't want to pursue it.*

THE professional soldiers are the coolest actors, the ones most at ease in the hearing's ideological climate. General Roscoe Charles Wilson, for example, lives in the simple world of a military airman. "Russia," his sole syllogism goes, "is a land power . . . practically independent of the rest of the world"; neither naval blockade nor foot invasion can destroy it—and of course it must be destroyed; therefore *"I am first of all a big bomb-man."* Oppenheimer is soft about the big bomb? What's the difference whether this means he is disloyal or merely mistaken?

Concerning Dr. Oppenheimer's future usefulness, General Wilson agrees with Dr. Teller that the creator of the A-bomb "might as well go fishing for the rest of his life." In the witnesses of this class, man's problems are simplified by elimination of all but the bare military facts as they happen to see them. Yet here too there is emotion. When fire-eater Wilson is asked if thermonuclear weapons are important, his reply, "Vastly, yes sir!" reveals a gloating appetite, a *gourmandise;* one can almost hear him purr, "M-m-m, good!" like the Texan on the Campbell-soup radio program.

THE statesmen of science, of "big business," and diplomacy (Conant, Kennan, Bush, Lilienthal, Rowe, McCormack, et al) offer the best *reasons* for not letting Oppenheimer "go fishing." They have not so intimately worked with the man; they know and respect what he has done rather than love or reject what he *is.* They try to suggest, against stubborn opposition of chairman and counsel, that they can understand Oppenheimer's interest in social justice, in Russia's "experiment," while Russia was still our ally; even his failure, in that atmosphere of 1943, to rush at once to the F. B. I. with a vague story that would have injured a trusted friend. But this is dangerous ground! Not even Oppenheimer's counsel dares to tread it. One feels that the brilliant men, Kennan, above all (and one remembers how he was severed from State office), could have been clearer in analyzing Oppenheimer if the "dogma," the "climate," had not barred them.

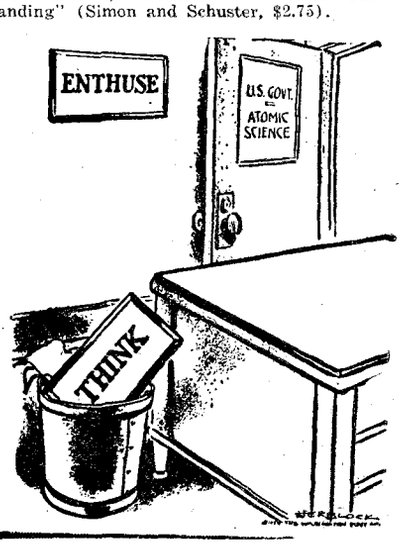
The essence of the case—the quantum in this man which made some love and others hate him—is never approached directly. It glows briefly in the lucid testimony of Oppenheimer's wife. But Robb shrewdly declines to cross-examine her. He can count on the "irrelevance" of what she has to say.

Related to this essence, of course, is "the feeling about the future of civilization" to which Gray grants no quarter. The scientists are not experts in this "feeling," nor is Oppenheimer; but in him they sense their own preoccupation. When Oppenheimer expresses doubt as to the political, strategic, economic wisdom of a certain program for H-bombs, they know he is on legitimate ground even if he is wrong. But they know also that a deeper, inarticulate instinct moves him, and that *there* he is right! The Tellers—the haters—also feel this instinct, and that it is a risk to the paranoiac world, "the climate" of the hearing, to which they are committed.

We come close to the tragic heart of this story in the effort of Oppenheimer's liberal lawyer, Lloyd K. Garrison, to minimize the unorthodox in his client; to hide from view his "wrong" early friendships and interests by disposing of them as mere indiscretions of ignorance and youth, and by piling high the inventory of his "correct" later actions. Mr. Garrison cannot be blamed for this; he wants to win his case. But the need to hush up what is generous and noble in the man, even if mistakenly directed, points frighteningly to the sick spirit of our country. And why does Mr. Garrison disdain to cross-examine William Borden, the man who openly accuses Oppenheimer—on no evidence whatever—of being a Soviet spy? Why does he miss this opportunity to reveal the type of mind which, confronted with intellectual beauty,* "reaches for the gun" of character-assassination? Nothing Mr. Garrison and his associates could do would, I suspect, have changed the verdict. But at least by exploring the facts they might have got the truth more clearly in the record.

OPPENHEIMER is not a good witness for himself. His report on his leadership in the General Advisory Committee (G. A. C.) is exact, exhaustive, assured. But on the question of his early associations he hardly goes beyond the plea that he "had no framework of political conviction or experience to give me perspective in these matters." He is a scientist of practical genius. If he cared to solve a problem in physics and his first efforts failed, would he cease to experiment? Would he not try again and again? His first "experiment" in search of social justice moves him toward the Communists. He soon learns his mistake; before the Hitler-Stalin pact, returning scientists from Russia convince him of Soviet tyranny. Thereupon, according

*The reader who is barred from the language of mathematical equations can taste the quality of Oppenheimer's mind in his recently published volume of lectures, "Science and the Common Understanding" (Simon and Schuster, $2.75).



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to his word, he chucks the whole matter and becomes an orthodox believer in the capitalist system. Is this in line with the man's nature? Is there no trace left of the motives which warmed him to Communists and Russia in the first place? The board thinks so.

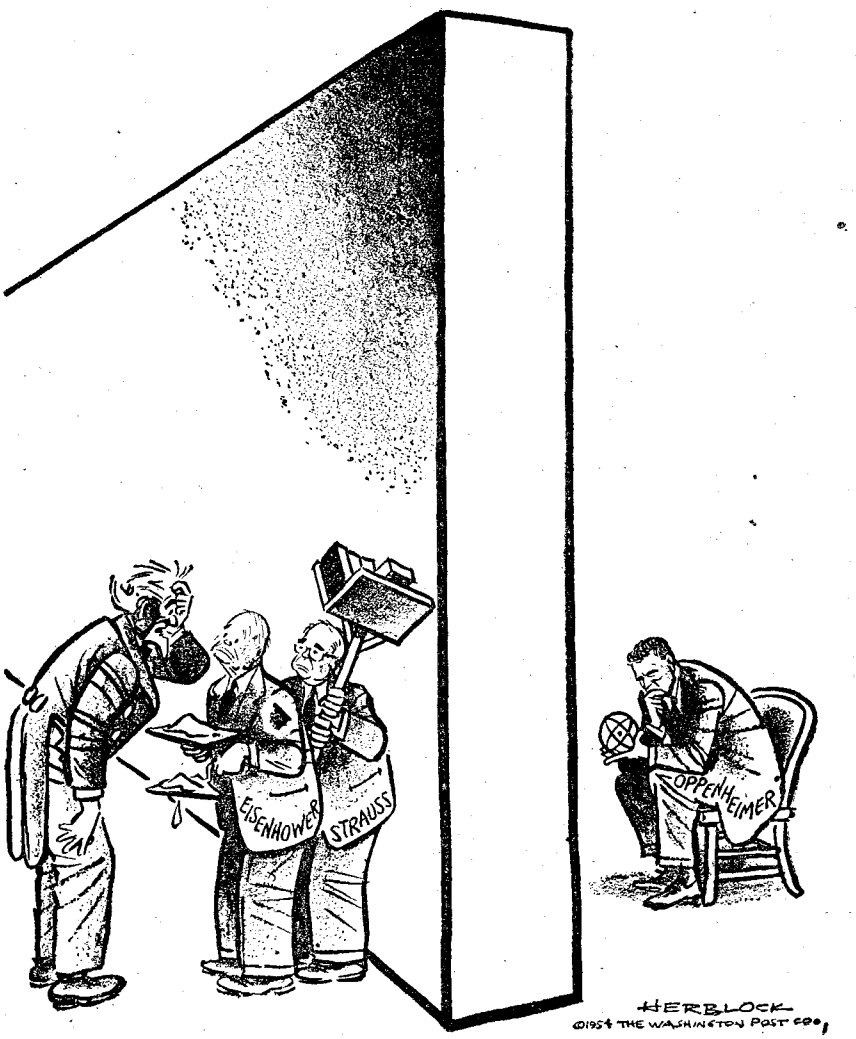
"The matter which most engaged my sympathies and interest was the war in Spain . . . but I knew nothing of its history or politics or contemporary problems." Perhaps: a man can't study everything. But he now calls his whole concern for Spain "idiotic." Did he not know at least that Spain's republic, whose aim was to liberate a long-suffering people, was struggling for its life against the fascists? What's idiotic about that? The board doesn't believe that he has lost the motives which made him champion Spain, although he may have outgrown a particular method of expressing these motives. These are the unforgivable; these make him a "risk."

His friend, Haakon Chevalier, tells him of Eltenton's pipeline to the Soviet consul in San Francisco. Oppenheimer dismisses it as evil—and for months does not report it. Yet he is on record as having said that he regretted that our Commander-in-Chief could not openly share our technical know-how with the Russian ally, in order that there might be no ground for information slipping in by "the back door" of espionage. A wise remark. It could be argued that our war-time distrust of Russia stratified the previous twenty years of active capitalist hostility, confirming Stalin in his suspicious, soon aggressive post-war policy against us. Oppenheimer makes no such case for himself.

I am sure Oppenheimer told the facts to the board. What he leaves out are the motives: normal, in part noble, which, jarring with his role of conventional service to his country, caused confusion in him. Perhaps he omits the motives because he does not clearly know them; perhaps because he fears their effect on "practical" men and through a defensive instinct feels that these elements in his nature, linking him with the poets, would disqualify him for his privileged place in the political and military world. The judges feel *something* is left out, and they are not likely to fill the gap with a generous picture the defendant himself fails to draw. If they had possessed more insight, they could have sensed, as Ward Evans and Henry Smyth sensed, what remained unsaid. Would they then, in our civilization, have been the majority judges? Yet the whole story is there, in the record; all it needs is to be assembled.

OPPENHEIMER'S well-to-do New York Jewish background was a rich culture bed for all the new century's drives and trends. In this lush world the go-getter was nourished, and the poet; the mechanist and the mystic; the exploiter of economic and intellectual wealth for his own success and the rebel who feels insecurity and guilt because he is rich and aware of the have-nots. In most individuals one strain prevails, the others are buried. In the man of genius *all* the drives clash, creating the need of integrating chaos, which is the work of genius. To this over-endowed group Oppenheimer belonged. Even his features, asymetrical as Poe's, reveal it. The eyes command a half-face of sensibility, bland and open, and a half-face of tough analytic power. In the mouth the division is horizontal: the upper lip tense and coldly resolved, the lower lip aggressively sensuous.

The young man becomes a physicist. But the aesthetic of the age lures him also; the aesthetic of mysticism, above all, which has its strongest structures in the East (he studies Sanskrit to learn of deeper causes and cures of human bondage than the Marxist). He never becomes a Communist, but the new modalities of social justice, the new horrors of injustice exemplified by Hitler, move him. His conscience as the son of a rich man impels him, before his marriage, to make a will bestowing his entire inheritance on the University of California for the founding of fellowships in nuclear physics. Like every sensitive Jew, who for all his ties feels subtly detached from his fellow-countrymen, he is sympathetic to revolutionists, less perhaps because he respects their doctrines than because they too are minority persons. At the same time acceptance and success in majority



"Who's Being Walled Off from What?"

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terms appeal to him strongly. And so the war years found him, and thrust him, through his special gifts, into leadership of a majority cause.

IT IS unthinkable that the motives which made him sympathetic to radicals should have died in him because he has rejected some of their convictions. He does not "cut" his friends when he becomes the leader of Los Alamos. On the contrary, his job of making bombs, repulsive to any imaginative man, must have heightened his thirst for contacts with what is humanly fresh, free, and creative. He believes there is good cause for what he is doing: he knows through Einstein that Hitler has been seeking the atomic bomb since 1939. He is defending America and the free world. Ironically, he is also defending Russia. And the ambivalence of this, which troubles no one in 1943, will in a decade make it appear possible for his enemies to hint that he was directly serving Russia. What indeed could a Soviet spy like better than that America with its infinite resources should perfect a weapon against Hitler?

His literary friend, Chevalier, alerts him vaguely to Soviet espionage. Why does he keep silent? It is 1943, and he is busy, and he has never dealt with policemen, and Chevalier is his true friend: why subject *him* to that trouble? And Russia is our ally, so what's the danger? And deep in his heart does he feel that America may have been wrong in not sharing secrets with an ally? Later the threat of espionage at Berkeley is made more clear to him; and now he reports Eltenton, stubbornly withholding the name of Chevalier whom he *knows* to be innocent. He is nervous, and the vacuum of what he has to say disturbs him. *They* may not be impressed by his scant news; and by now *he* is beginning to fear Russia. Before he knows it, in his nervous confusion and trouble about not naming his friend, he speaks of "three scientists" who, he affirms, have been approached. He cannot name them. But this will at least give more weight to his warning.

At this point, we assume two "guilts," deep and vague in Oppenheimer's mind. One is due to a residual tenderness for the old image of Russia as the home of social justice; the second is that this tenderness is a wrong to his own country, threatened perhaps through espionage by the actual tyrannical Russia. The two "guilts" contradict each other. He opts in favor of the second feeling, and enforces it by inventing his three physicists. There is another hint of this "overdetermination."

Dr. Zacharias testifies that, more than his colleagues, Oppenheimer came close to advocating a preventive war against Russia. This is as foreign to the man's organic nature as his tale of the physicists. Neurotic nervousness can explain it. I don't know how plausible this "reconstruction" may appear to the reader. Surely, it is less incredible than that this man voluntarily appeared before his judges in order to lie under oath.

The cloudy affair gives the board and the commission their pretext for deciding as they do. Similar ambiguities exist in the lives of every man—even the most simple. They are not usually exposed. If public service were confined to men with no ambivalence in their souls, we would be ruled by robots; and perhaps this was the true will—unconscious, of course—of the tribunal.

BUT Oppenheimer's real "sin"—the hearing resembles a theological inquisition in that no "crime" was even suggested—began with the long sessions, about which Lilienthal testifies, to shape an agreement with Russia for control of the bomb. We hear of the months of solemn deliberation by important men before the Baruch plan is perfected; and of Oppenheimer's major contribution to its main ideas. Any shrewd peasant, knowing the facts of the distrust between Russia and the West since the invasions of Russia in the 1920's by capitalist armies, and knowing the continuance of this distrust in the second war, could have predicted that Russia must reject the Baruch plan. That the pompous "big men" did not know this is credible; but surely Oppenheimer knew it. Which means that, while he deliberated, in good faith, there was conflict in him. His work on the bomb had been justified because of the danger of Hitler's making it first. *But the bomb was dropped on Japan after Hitler's death.* How justify that? "It saved lives by shortening the war." Oppenheimer is far too intelligent to be moved by this dishonest nonsense.

Now the difficulties—before Teller's invention makes it feasible—in producing the H-bomb seem to Oppenheimer to give the world another chance to reach agreement with Russia. Let no one create this genocidal weapon whose existence, even if it is never used, warps the very organs of our culture! Such thoughts, such reserves and deep concerns in the man, must have been felt by his accusers. They are enough in 1954 to doom him as trusted servant of a state already taking on the rigid lines of its fears and of the forces which produce the weapons of fear.

IF Oppenheimer had honored his misgivings by speaking them out, he would have found countless allies: did not Dr. Conant say the H-bomb would be made "over my dead body"? It is conceivable that the genocidal race in which we are now plunged might never have begun; and from this birth of good faith and of courage, agreements with the Soviets might have deepened and broadened. Such a pact with such an enemy would mean risk? Russia might cheat? The peril would have been infinitely less than the certain one of our present "security course." And the American people would at least have heard, through a conspicuous public servant, that the nation which refuses to risk its life for sanity and honor is as craven and doomed as the man who refuses to risk his life for what man should love more than his life.

Probably Oppenheimer's appeal for such a course would have failed. But the genius that served death would have emerged into a leader of living men. That Robert Oppenhimer was too strongly shackled by his conventional loyalties to rise to this lucid height is his tragedy. That his fate is typical and symbolic is America's tragedy. Our sensitive and imaginative and creative men are placed on the defensive. Their generous gifts are not encouraged to be free and to explore—at the inevitable risk of heresy and error. They are being stifled into rigid conformity with dogmas of fear—or they are not used at all. A national program whose heart is the insanity of seeking shelter from a world in revolution by denying its elements of justice, by reliance on the threat of genocidal weapons, is bound, if it continues, to eliminate mind and spirit from the men who lead us.

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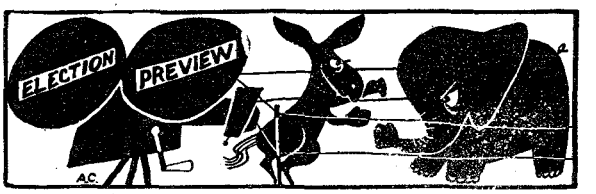
AS MAINE GOES



A Jolt for the G. O. P. . . . *by Frank Sleeper*

Portland, Maine

WHAT are the "why's" of Maine's election? Is there any chance that this rock-ribbed Republican state is turning Democratic? The election of Edmund S. Muskie as the state's first Democratic governor in twenty years might, on the surface, indicate a "yes" answer to the second question. There will be no way of knowing for sure until elections roll around again two and four years from now.

There are some 92,000 registered Democrats in Maine. More than 135,000 folks voted for Muskie and more than 100,000 voted for Democrat Paul Fullam, Senator Margaret Chase Smith's beaten foe. Though many Democrats register as Republicans in this state so they can vote effectively in primaries, it is clear that many Republicans shifted over to the Democratic column in this election. Political experts round these parts have been giving many reasons. One may be the splits within the Republican Party as a whole.

Taft-Eisenhower enmities from 1952 still burden the Maine Republicans. Wounds from the 1952 Republican governorship primary race between newly defeated Governor Burton Cross and Leroy Hussey are another handicap. In addition, in this last campaign, there was the seeming apathy of Senator Frederick Payne for Governor Cross.

To take advantage of these splits, Maine Democrats speeded up their 1954 campaign. They put up high-grade candidates, especially Muskie and Fullam—no crackpots or outspoken radicals as some Maine Democratic candidates in the past have been. As far as possible they obtained support from Democrats distinguished in other fields than politics. Among these were K. C. Sills, recently retired president of Bowdoin College, Leonard Pierce, prominent Portland attorney, and Henri Benoit, head of a Maine menswear chain. They tightened their organization under the supervision of State Democratic Chairman Frank M. Coffin, a young man who will go far. They focused on the gubernatorial contest. They received more money from both local and national sources. The C. I. O.-P. A. C., the A. F. of L., the Democratic National Committee, and, it is said, Averell Harriman contributed. They opened their arms to all Republican turncoats. Most notable of the defectors was Neal Bishop, a candidate for governor in the Republican primary in 1952 and an independent candidate for governor in the 1952 election. Bishop actively campaigned against Governor Cross.

It seemed, as the campaign progressed, that the Democrats brought in more national issues than the Republicans did. Not until they saw that Governor Cross was in trouble did the Republicans begin to play the theme: "A vote for the *straight* Republican ticket is a vote for the Eisenhower Administration." Then they played it to a fare-thee-well. Vice-President Nixon, for example, pointed out the importance to the Administration of greater-than-normal Republican majorities in Maine. While the slump in Republican majorities indicates a certain lack of confidence with the Administration here in Maine, most experts agree that local issues were a paramount factor in Muskie's victory and that other Republican majorities were decreased at least partially by Cross's personal unpopularity.

However, it is clear that the Republican "peace and prosperity" theme backfired in Maine. Rising textile unemployment—a New England regional problem—plus bad years in Aroostook County (potatoes) and Washington County (sardines), made the claim often seem ridiculous here. Muskie played up the true economic story to the limit. The Democrats also played up the question of a $100 exemption or a lessened income tax. Senator Smith centered her election-eve speech on that issue. Governor Cross's failure to urge potato price supports hit Aroostook County hard. It tied in of course with Secretary of Agriculture Benson's stand on aid to potato growers.

But local issues, growing often out of Republican intra-party splits, had most to do with Muskie's surprising success. Governor Cross made certain unpolitical moves—often for Maine's benefit as a whole—which alienated various regions. Some of his political appointments did the same thing.

In one sense this election marked a great liberal advance in the Pine Tree State. Ed Muskie will be Maine's first duly elected Catholic governor. The built-in Catholic political "inferiority complex" which has existed in Maine at least since Ku Klux Klan days back in the twenties and has been increased by fantastic Catholic candidates like Robert Jones should go by the boards now. The question of Muskie's religion came up only in scattered localities.

While the Maine legislature will have more Democrats in 1955 than at any time in the past twenty years, Ed Muskie will have to compromise with two predominantly Republican bodies, controlled by utility firms, industries, and insurance companies. He will also have a Republican Executive Council.

REPUBLICAN losses in Maine's Congressional districts were not too severe when compared wtih the 1950 off-year election. The Republicans lost two per cent of their plurality in the first district, four in the second, and three in the third, as compared with the 1950 vote. Losses were much greater when compared with 1952. Mrs. Smith's vote

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dropped almost 13 per cent compared with her 1948 vote. But 1948 was a Presidential year, and her opposition at that time was feeble.

A wedge has been driven into Maine's traditional Republicanism. Whether it can be driven farther depends on how successful Republicans are in winning back split-ticket voters to a straight Republican ticket. It also depends on whether the Democrats can attract liberal Republicans to their cause. If they can, this state will achieve two-party government. If not, Maine will return to a liquid one-party system, with intra-party conflicts deciding who shall hold power. It is too early to make any predictions, but Maine's Democrats are obviously at a twenty-year peak for organization, funds, and superior candidates.

The Maine election showed a Democratic tendency to concentrate on local contests in this Congressional election year. If applied elsewhere as effectively as in Maine, the strategy should insure them a wide margin of House control.

MIDWEST REPORT

The Prairie Farmer Revolts . . *by Robert G. Lewis*

A STRONG Democratic trend is running in the Midwest farm belt, much like that which accounted for the surprising victory of Harry Truman in 1948. In that year normal Democratic margins were hit from three sides: the Dixiecrats tore a four-state chunk out of the solid South; Tom Dewey made deep inroads in suburbs and small towns; the Wallace party cut into the big-city vote. But losses were more than made up by the vote in farm states which the G. O. P. had counted as safely in the bag.

Ohio was the most dramatic case. Truman won the state's twenty-five electoral votes by a bare margin of 7,000 out of almost 3,000,000 votes cast. Roosevelt had been beaten by Dewey in Ohio by 12,000 votes in 1944. Truman ran behind Roosevelt's 1944 vote throughout urban Ohio—in populous Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) 70,000 votes behind—but made up the difference and more by running strongly ahead of Roosevelt in the farm precincts. Truman picked up forty-seven electoral votes by carrying Ohio, Iowa, and Wisconsin—which Roosevelt had lost in 1944. His total electoral vote was only thirty-seven more than the bare majority he needed to win.

The farmers deserted the Democrats in 1952, but all indications point toward a repetition of the 1948 pattern in '54. The main issue is the same—high versus low farm prices—and it is more clearly drawn than ever.

The speeches and deeds of Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson generated misgivings, then fear, then overt anger among farmers within a few months of Eisenhower's inauguration. A speech made by Benson a year ago in west-central Wisconsin and a special House election in the district a month later furnish a test-tube demonstration of the farmers' political reaction to Administration policies. Benson spoke at the 1953 national plowing contest before some 50,000 farmers. He had billed the speech in advance as the "most important" of his career. But he completely ducked any reference to what would —or should—be done about the past year's 13 per cent drop in farm prices. When he snapped his briefcase shut and turned away, six seconds of thin applause proclaimed quietly that his "most important speech" had fizzled. A month later the Democratic candidate in the special election, Lester Johnson, carried ten of the eleven counties in the district and trounced his Republican opponent three to two.

Johnson is the first Democrat to represent this dairy-farming Wisconsin Congressional district. His reelection is probable this fall. As far as the farmers are concerned, Johnson "heads the ticket"—and it's their ticket this time. A blacksmith in the crossroads village of Strum, just about in the center of the district, summed up the farmers' political mood for me. Those who come into the shop, he said, almost all grouse at Benson and President Eisenhower. Their milk checks have gone down 15 per cent since Benson slashed dairy-price supports last April, and they see Johnson as their champion against Republican disaster. A usually non-partisan president of a Rural Electrification Administration co-op in Johnson's district said local farm leaders throughout the Midwest were arguing very simply: "There's nothing in the world we can do to help ourselves but vote Democratic."

A broader expression of the farmers' present political mood was the famed "cattlemen's caravan" which went to Washington in October, 1953, to protest directly against the Eisenhower Administration's policies. Ranchers, feeders, dairymen, and diversified farmers who raise or feed a few head of beef—generally agriculture's most steadfast conservatives—joined in a rebellious petition to the Secretary of Agriculture.

Beef-cattle prices had plummeted 25 per cent on the average in the nine months after Benson took office, far more than that in the drought-stricken areas. The cattlemen implored Benson to protect them with direct supports for live-cattle prices. He balked, and instead spent $104,000,000 to buy processed meat from the packers. The packing companies filled the government orders with beef picked up at a few cents a pound in sacrifice sales in the drought country. Meat-packing profits rose sharply in 1953, while cattlemen took severe and sometimes bankrupting losses.

The surge of new members into the

ROBERT G. LEWIS, editor of the Farmers Union's weekly Washington Newsletter, *has just ended a swing through the prairie states.*

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Burck in the Chicago *Sun-Times*

"Don't Worry. He'll Let You Down Easy."

Farmers Union, particularly beyond its traditional territory in the Great Plains, is another significant barometer of the farmers' disaffection. Smallest of the three general farm organizations, the Farmers Union sponsored the "cattlemen's caravan" and alone voices the objections of farmers to Administration policies. After twenty years without a new state unit four were chartered by national headquarters this year, and more are to come. The first was Utah—home state of Secretary Benson. Next was Virginia—a significant crack in the South, which had been as "solid" for the big Farm Bureau as for the Democratic Party. Then came Illinois and Indiana, the union's first break into the corn belt, where rich and powerful state Farm Bureaus function as pro-Administration agricultural political machines.

AS THE mid-term campaign warms up, public-opinion polls in the Midwest confirm the farm issue's political impact. Senator Hubert Humphrey in Minnesota, according to the anti-Humphrey Minneapolis *Tribune's* usually accurate poll, will run miles ahead of Val Bjornson, the Republican contender. The percentages are 67 for Humphrey and only 20 for Bjornson among farmers. The overall sampling gave Humphrey 59 per cent to Bjornson's 30 per cent as of July 25, a 9 per cent gain for Humphrey and a 5 per cent loss for Bjornson since March.

In traditionally Republican Iowa the highly dependable poll by *Wallace's Farmer and Iowa Homestead* showed that 51 per cent of Iowa farmers, as of August 7, were for Democratic Senator Gillette as against 39 per cent for his Republican opponent, Representative Martin, with 11 per cent undecided. Even in South Dakota, where Democrats "never win elections," the farmers may make trouble for Senator Mundt this fall. A recent state-wide poll conducted by the three leading newspapers showed Mundt trailing in the farm areas with 46 per cent of the straw votes to 54 per cent for Ken Holum, his Democratic opponent. South Dakota Democrats doubled their total vote in the primaries this year over 1952, bringing it to about one-third of the Republican total.

Fourteen United States Senators are up for election this year in the belt of states stretching from Ohio to Oregon. The five incumbent Democrats among them—Douglas of Illinois, Gillette of Iowa, Humphrey of Minnesota, Murray of Montana, and Burke of Ohio—must have strong support from the farmers in their states, along with the normal Democratic vote, to win. Farmers will be decisive also in filling the seat vacated by Colorado's retiring Democrat, Edwin C. Johnson. Republican Senators in five other states—Dworshak in Idaho, Ferguson in Michigan, Cordon in Oregon, Mundt in South Dakota, and Crippa in Wyoming—may be unseated if the trend to the Democrats among farm voters in their states runs strongly enough. There is nothing in sight to indicate serious re-election trouble for the Republicans in the two Nebraska contests or the one in Kansas.

The strong scent of victories in November excited the eager Democratic candidates, party leaders, and partisan farmers who swarmed into Sioux Falls, South Dakota, for the party's Midwest Farm Conference on August 28. They jammed themselves into the Cataract Hotel beyond its capacity for the conference sessions, with both their determination and their hopes high. Yet optimism comes mighty hard for Democrats in the great prairie portion of the fifteen-state "Midwest" represented at Sioux Falls. The prairie states, for the most part, are a Democratic desert so far as Congressional, state, and local candidates are concerned, although they occasionally vote Democratic in a Presidential election.

THAT partly explains Republican political strategy on the farm issue. Albert Clark in the *Wall Street Journal* has quoted political experts at G. O. P. headquarters as believing, along with President Eisenhower and Secretary Benson, "that the G. O. P. stands to gain more votes by advocating flexible (low) price supports than it can hope to win by accepting another year of the present 90 per cent guaranties." These experts point out, wrote Clark, that most Republican candidates won their House seats in farm areas in 1952 by margins ranging from 56 to 85 per cent or more. Only a major political upheaval could unseat them, and no farmer rebellion against lower price supports would go far enough to do it.

Moreover, the G. O. P. strategists figure, most of the nation's "close" House districts—those won by margins of 5 per cent of the total vote in 1952 by either party—are in the cities. Of 219 Republican Congressmen, 43 either won seats held by Democrats in 1952 or were elected with 55 per cent or less of the total vote and so are considered doubtful. Of these 43, only 4 represent districts in which farmers form 20 per cent or more of the population; 17 represent out-and-out big-city districts. About 30 seats now held by Democrats are similarly classed as doubtful—and again all but a handful are in big cities.

A possible flaw in the G. O. P. strategy is found in the fact that in order to achieve its "victory" in the price-support vote the White House had to use strong pressure on roughly two-thirds of the Republican Congressmen who had previously voted for high farm-price supports to get them to vote for low supports—and on an occasion when the issue was at white heat. In many of both the "close" and the "safe" Republican districts Democratic Presidential candi-

Cork in the *National C. I. O. News*

Breaking 90 at Last

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dates have frequently won. The Republican Congressional candidates, characteristically, have stopped the farmers' Democratic tendencies at the top of the ticket by indorsing and backing the Democrats' farm policies. The Republican White House put a stop to this in some fifty House contests and for two dozen Senators—at least for the present. A new political problem has thus been created, and it seems inevitable that its effect will be to carry any 1948-style Democratic trend farther down the ticket.

GRANTING at least the normal midterm swing against the party in power among town voters, farm votes are most likely to tip the balance in favor of Democratic candidates in the eastern half of the Midwest bread basket, where margins normally are small and both farmers and labor are heavily represented. Clarence McCormick, Under Secretary of Agriculture in the last Administration, believes that all but Halleck's district are at least "possible" for the Democrats in his home state of Indiana. Such an upset would directly reverse the Republicans' present ten-to-one domination of the Indiana delegation. Other Indiana Democrats agree with McCormick's judgment that three or four House seats now held by Republicans look "probable" for the Democrats this year. With variations, the Democrats have similar expectations in Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Illinois. Senator Douglas, incidentally, has risen high in the esteem of farm Democrats by his latter-day conversion to strong farm-price supports and the blows he has struck for the R. E. A. co-ops.

The intransigent stand of the Republican national administration against the immediate and basic interests of agriculture appears to be forcing a political realignment in the prairie states far more profound than the conventional swing of the political pendulum. The character of the Democratic candidates attracted into the campaign is a telling sign. Kenneth Holum, who is jousting with Senator Mundt in South Dakota, is a sample. Holum is a farmer, prominent in the important R. E. A. cooperatives, farm organizations, and marketing co-ops—and one of the few Democrats in the state who have won elections. He gives himself a "fighting chance" to beat Mundt, and impartial observers believe that's about right. In most of the prairie districts the Democrats have tremendous margins to overtake before G. O. P. incumbents can be ousted, but that does not dismay the party's new recruits. They know there will be other elections, and they believe the revolt of the prairie farmer has only begun.

THE DEFEAT OF E. D. C.

A French View . . *by Alexander Werth*

Paris

ON SEPTEMBER 13 the New York *Times* published a letter by Henri Pierre, Washington correspondent of the Paris *Monde*. M. Pierre expressed his astonishment at the bitterness with which the *Times* had treated the French rejection of E. D. C. and at the "hazardous" assertion that the National Assembly "did not represent the French people." He added that there would no doubt have been a majority for a genuine "united Europe"; the E. D. C., however, seemed no more than a caricature of Europe—without Britain, Scandinavia, and certain other countries represented in it. Many, he said, looked upon E. D. C. as an American trick to bring into being twelve German divisions for purposes that had little in common with a real organization of Europe.

M. Pierre added that for too long American opinion had been misinformed as to the real state of affairs in France: E. D. C. had been turned down as a result not of political combinations but of mature reflection on the part of the deputies, and its rejection was one of the turning points in the history of France. He further suggested that it was hardly honest to attribute the collapse of E. D. C. solely to the Communists: "Your editorials have constantly minimized the fact that the opposition . . . represented a national reaction." And he recalled that there were, after all, five million Frenchmen who voted Communist, and that not even the most anti-Communist Premier had discovered a way of wholly depriving them of representation.

To Pierre's protest the *Times* responded with uncompromising harshness: "Whatever may have been its reasons for rejecting E. D. C.," it said, "France deeply shocked Western opinion and provided the Russians with what is probably their greatest victory since the fall of Czechoslovakia. . . . The democratic world has been unanimous in condemning France."

This controversy brings into focus a number of major issues concerning France. First, the argument that the National Assembly is not "representative" of the French people. Well, in a sense it isn't; but not in the sense that the New York *Times* implied. On the contrary, the *apparentements* introduced in the last general election—a system especially devised to favor the center groups—resulted in an Assembly in which the Gaullists and the Communists, both anti-E. D. C., were grossly underrepresented. Had the election been carried out on the basis of proportional representation—like that of 1946—E. D. C. would have been turned down by more than 400 votes instead of 319.

But it is not only a matter of parliamentary arithmetic. There is a genuine "European" tradition in France—a tradition that can be traced to Briand and, indeed, much farther back: for a short

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Can the Genie Be Kept in the Bottle?

time—but only a short time (in 1948-49)—majority French opinion tended to support it. I often talked to rank-and-file Socialists in the provinces who would recall Briand and speak favorably of Franco-German reconciliation, on the understanding, however, that Germany would not be rearmed. Had not Schuman himself solemnly declared, in the debate on the ratification of the Atlantic Pact on July 25, 1949, "Germany has no army and must not have one. She has no armaments and she shall not have any"?

When all is said and done, it was E. D. C. that killed what French sentiment there was for a revival of Briand's "European idea." A very small proportion even of the 264 deputies who voted for E. D. C. believe in it as having anything to do with "Europe." The rest voted for it either because they feared the American "reprisals" which people like Paul Reynaud anxiously prophesied, or because of their diehard anti-communism.

It is significant that among the Radicals, who were equally divided on the issue, the most determined supporter of the E. D. C. was Martinaud Déplat, nicknamed "France's McCarthy." It was he more than anybody else who played about with the idea of outlawing the Communist Party, thus depriving it of all representation; hence the famous police frame-up he staged in May, 1952, with the extravagant story of Duclos and his "carrier pigeons"—an episode which failed to have its intended effect as a "Reichstag fire" and merely made its producer ridiculous. During the formation of the Mendès-France government and the decisive phases of the Geneva conference M. Déplat, according to the *Canard Enchaîné,* was in continuous touch with the American embassy, where he tried to play a part not unlike that played at Brussels by Robert Schuman, who kept "briefing" Adenauer and Spaak, telling them not to give way to Mendès-France, as E. D. C. was "in the bag." He proved to be as wrong as the greater part of the British and American press. How often have we read in these papers echoes of M. R. P. handouts during the last few months: "Ratification of E. D. C. a foregone conclusion"; "Bidault indispensable and inevitable at the Quai d'Orsay"; and similar bits of wishful thinking.

THAT the rearmament of Germany is profoundly distasteful to the great majority of French opinion there can be no doubt. And this distaste, arising from memories of the Occupation, of Oradour, Gestapo activities in the Avenue Foch, and what not, has been heightened by the ever-growing arrogance of the Germans, by detailed reports of the Nazification of the government machine at Bonn, and, only the other day, by the incredible attack on the French National Assembly and Mendès-France by Adenauer himself. And now comes Adenauer's crushing defeat in Schleswig-Holstein—a clear indication that his "Little Europe" and "Little Germany" idea has become increasingly unrealistic in the eyes of the German people. The argument that E. D. C. will indefinitely put off the unification of Germany obviously counts a lot.

The attraction of E. D. C. as a striking force that will "liberate" Eastern Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, etc., has also largely vanished. Today an invasion of Western Europe by the Soviet Union would mean atomic war, and therefore a German army is unnecessary for the defense of Europe. It would be useful only for an aggressive war, and while the roll-back policy may still appeal to some American military fire-eaters, as well as to some German *revanchards,* it appeals to nobody in France; the risks would be far too great.

Besides, in the name of what would such a war be waged? The free world? It is important to remember one thing. If in France there are still innumerable enemies of the Soviet way of life, there are extremely few wholehearted friends of the American way of life. The devaluation of phrases like the "free world," "democracy," and such has been rapid and progressive. The patronage extended by the United States to Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee, the continued presence of McCarthy and a sort of all-pervading McCarthyism, have developed in France a distaste for the United States.

And so, above all, has the blatant preference shown by Washington for Adenauer's Germany. The latest reaction not only to American but also to British pressure has been: "Why should *they* know what is best for France?" In short, with H-bombs on both sides of the "curtain," the rearmament of Germany is considered less necessary than ever—except by the dwindling minority willing to obey Washington's orders whatever the cost.

There has been more clear thinking on these issues in France than in either Britain or America. As so often in France's history, the French intelligentsia has had a great deal to do with the dual process of interpreting the inner feelings of the French people and of explaining the fundamental issues. The influence of the journals which are run by intellectuals, such as the *Monde, l'Express, France-Observateur, Esprit,* and others, has been infinitely greater than their circulations suggest.

So has the fact that most of the public men who for one reason or another enjoy great personal prestige are against E. D. C.—ex-President Auriol, General de Gaulle, Edouard Herriot, and Marshal Juin among them. On the other hand, the group of ex-premiers, like Bidault, Schuman, Pinay, and Pleven, who are pro-E. D. C. carry little weight. The intelligence and maturity with which people of all walks of life in France can discuss the essentials of the world situation is very striking. The popularity of Mendès-France has scarcely diminished since the Indo-China settlement, and the only fear is that he may not be strong enough to stand up to the terrific pressure the "free world" is preparing to exercise on France.

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MIRACLE ON ASTOR PLACE

The District 65 Story . . . *by Robert A. Bedolis*

THE headquarters of District 65, Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union-C. I. O. is a reconditioned—and air-conditioned—eleven-story structure at 13 Astor Place which cost $1,250,000. The building represents a remarkable philosophy of trade unionism. Ninety per cent of District 65's 28,000 members use it regularly, often for purposes not normally thought of as connected with trade-union activities. They go there to attend lectures, to paint, or to chat over a glass of beer. They go there to dance, or to borrow money, or to draw pensions or insurance payments. They go there to discuss new union contracts, or to buy—at enormous savings—anything from needles to vitamins. They gravitate to 13 Astor Place as the people of a small town gravitate to Main Street.

It is doubtful whether any other union in the country touches the life of its members at so many points. District 65's leaders estimate that 3,000 people daily pass through the doors of 13 Astor Place, an outstanding example of rank-and-file participation in the day-to-day operations of a union. The figure is the more impressive in that in this case the membership is scattered over the five boroughs of New York City and the adjacent counties in New York and New Jersey. Some people who visit 13 Astor Place regularly must travel more than an hour by subway or bus to get there.

District 65's leaders find nothing miraculous in all this, although the leaders of other unions sometimes do. The men who guide District 65 insist that not they, but the membership, created 13 Astor Place. The leadership provided only what the members wanted; but for this intensive membership participation in the affairs of the union the District 65 Center, as the building is called, would never have been created.

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The union's top leaders are Arthur Osman, its founder and first president (now a national officer of the R. W. D. S. U.), who is credited with initiating many of the special activities of District 65; David Livingston, his successor as president; Jack Paley, executive vice-president; Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer, and William Michelson, organization director. From the first these men recognized that the key to successful trade unionism is membership interest and support, and they have always been ready to depart from traditional union practices to achieve both.

An example is the manner in which District 65 treats the check-off, a collective-bargaining provision which calls on

the employer to deduct union dues from wages and salaries and turn them directly over to the union. The check-off is part of practically every District 65 contract—but the union does not use it. Instead members agreed, in secret-ballot vote, that it would be better for them to pay their dues in person once a month. So the overwhelming majority of District 65's membership puts in an appearance at 13 Astor Place at least twelve times a year. In addition, membership-supported policy requires attendance at monthly meetings held in the building. Failure to show up means a one-dollar fine unless the members can show a good excuse indorsed by a shop steward.

The check-off as normally used undoubtedly helps a union's finances, providing an automatic guaranty against members falling behind in their dues. But it also reduces the contact between the union rank and file and its representatives, thus reducing opportunities for membership participation in union affairs. And it can also ease the problem of a union leader who is more interested in maintaining a position of power than in providing day-to-day service to his membership. Mr. Livingston explains the District 65 position this way:

> We feel the union belongs to its members, that it is a real trade-union democracy. Not only do we want the members to participate in operating the union—they must participate if they are to have a union at all. We have more than 2,000 contracts to negotiate and police—more than 2,000 bosses. We have only thirty-two paid organizers and just a handful of full-time officers. We can't afford more. We have our security plan and credit union to administer, to say nothing of individual bargaining for contracts and the countless other activities. The members must come down and run things. By voluntarily assuming the burden of coming down to the building regularly they are helping themselves, and they know it.

As an example of the extraordinary cooperative attitude of the membership, Mr. Livingston recalled that when the Taft-Hartley law was being debated early in 1947, the union felt a battle with employers would be forthcoming over union-security provisions. The leadership decided to seek an enormous strike fund—one week's pay from each member, payable in five consecutive weekly instalments. The 13,000 members then in the union approved the astonishingly high levy by three to one in a secret ballot. "They all paid, without exception, raising $600,000," Mr. Livingston said. At the same time officers accepted a 10 per cent wage cut. Mr. Livingston declared that this show of solidarity was a major factor in gaining satisfactory contracts without a strike. The bulk of this strike fund still exists as a source of strength.

The union officer explained that the nature of the firms employing District 65 members is such that extraordinary strike tactics have been necessary. "When a distributing shop with six warehouse-

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men is struck in the normal way," he said, "the boss has no real problem. He can move his operation to another location and hire new workers. So we had 6 on strike and 6,000 on the picket line outside the shop." Concerning the union's growth and accomplishments, Mr. Livingston said: "We had to do certain things in order to exist; we had to have widespread membership participation. As Arthur Osman said in the early days of the union, our headquarters had to become the members' 'second home.'" On the union's disinclination to use the check-off, he remarked: "When we see dues are not coming in we know something's wrong there. It's a barometer."

Firms with District 65 contracts include such large department stores as Bloomingdale's and Gimbels, and retail chains such as Vim and Davega. But most are small retail and wholesale businesses employing only a handful of workers and dealing in dry goods, shoes, hardware, toys, gifts, textiles, buttons, knitwear, millinery, mail-order merchandise, television sets, metal products, needles, cigars, displays, insurance, chemicals, and dental supplies.

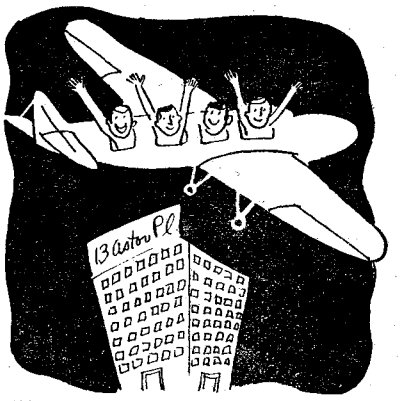
Mr. Paley emphasized that all policy decisions must be approved by a membership ballot. He laughed when it was suggested that it usually isn't too difficult for a strong leadership to "command" cooperation. "Our membership is accustomed to running the union," he said. "They can't be commanded to do things. With or without a personal dues-paying policy, if the membership didn't want to come to 13 Astor Place every month they wouldn't."

THE eleven stories of District 65 Center are eleven reasons why the membership does persist in coming in. Aside from customary meeting rooms, the commodious quarters house a pharmacy, a remarkably well-equipped optical shop, a cafeteria, a bar, a credit union, several ballrooms, and a retail store with an annual turnover of more than $1,500,000. The retail shop, operated on a self-service basis for the most part, affords savings of one-third and more to union customers. The merchandise includes clothing, electrical appliances, watches and other kinds of jewelry, standard-brand cigarettes at $2.02 a carton, housewares, drug sundries, books, luggage, and a host of other items. A retail shop conducted by a union representing thousands of retail workers could be expected to run on knowledgeable lines. This one is. Many similar union service stores have failed because the inventory was heavily loaded with merchandise the customers did not want. District 65's shop, according to Mr. Paley, will stock no item that does not turn over at least eight times a year.

The shop got its start almost by accident. In 1946 District 65's newspaper, *Union Voice,* began to offer record albums at cut prices to stimulate reader interest. The response was so favorable that the practice of offering a new item every month was established. After a while the newspaper staff had to erect a sales window to handle this growing business. From window to small store, and then to one occupying an entire floor, was a natural development.

Until Last May the *Union Voice,* a bi-weekly, ran twenty-four pages, sizable for a labor newspaper and lively and imaginative in make-up and in special features. Now it has merged with the *Record,* the official newspaper of the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union-C. I. O., which regularly runs an eight-page insert in a special edition for District 65. The merger reflects something of the recent history of District 65, which was originally part of the C. I. O. international but split with it in 1948, along with other locals, in an internal political fight. Some years ago District 65 repudiated pro-Communist sympathies—a policy change accepted and indorsed by top C. I. O. leaders—and rejoined the parent union in May.

District 65's pharmacy fills an average of 200 prescriptions a day, employing six full-time pharmacists. Like the retail store, it operates on a cost-plus-overhead basis, saving its customers up to 60 per cent in drug costs. The shop is designed and equipped as a modern



drugstore but without a soda fountain or other extraneous miscellany. Harry Winocur, chief pharmacist, calls it a "dream layout" and boasts that the prescription area is as large as in any drugstore in the city. The pharmacy's space has been expanded sixfold since its beginning in April, 1952. Its operation has brought interested queries from other unions.

THE building includes five ballrooms —one a penthouse terrace occupying the entire top floor—and thirty-two meeting rooms. The ballrooms, with a seating capacity of from 200 to 850, are used for large union meetings and also for social purposes. The union reports that there is a dance scheduled almost every Saturday night, with attendance as great as 1,200. The smaller rooms, most frequently used for smaller union meetings, accommodate twenty-five to fifty persons, and are available to union members for private gatherings. The charge for the use of the ballrooms and meeting rooms is what it costs the union to keep them open, lighted, and cleaned.

Club 65 originated in 1944 as two tiny bars. Today it occupies the entire tenth floor—10,000 square feet—and includes a new cafeteria seating 450 persons as well as an adjoining modern bar and cocktail lounge. The cafeteria, which like the bar is self-sustaining and operates on cost-plus-overhead, serves an average of 1,500 persons a night and many hundreds for lunch. Prices are reported to be 10 to 15 per cent less than those in neighborhood cafeterias. District 65 is fighting a losing battle to discourage non-members in the neighborhood from using the cafeteria, the one union service which does not require union-card identification.

The bar prices are attractive also—35 cents for a one-ounce shot or highball

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drink. The cocktail price is 40 cents for a three-ounce glass and 50 cents for four-and-a-half ounces. Draft beer is 10 cents for an eight-ounce glass. A bottle is 25 cents.

One service regarded with more than ordinary fondness by District 65 is its credit union, described as the country's largest labor credit union, and one of the largest of any type in New York state. While technically not a bank, the credit union, begun in 1941, in effect serves as one. It has 10,000 active participants, more than a third of the District 65 membership. Shareholders, or "depositors," earn up to 2½ per cent on their savings, which today total $582,000. Some 3,000 members are borrowers, with $454,000 in loans out. They pay a low rate of interest—3½ to 4½ per cent. A fund of $225,000 is at present available for loans.

Among District 65's recreational activities perhaps the most popular is its basketball program, which includes a league of thirteen or fourteen teams from District 65's local unions. The District 65 all-stars, drawn from the cream of the intra-District 65 league, last season won the championship of the outside industrial league which it had entered. It wound up in a post-season game in Madison Square Garden, the first union basketball team ever to play there. District 65 lost, but the Garden management—impressed by the union team and the 1,300 tickets at $2 and $2.50 each bought by District 65 rooters—wants the team back again this season.

Another sport is softball, with 650 active participants, 27 local-union and shop teams, and 4 leagues. District 65 also conducts a golf class and tournament. It has a bowling league. Up to 600 members participate in "gym-swim" activities arranged by the union with public high schools.

District 65 also conducts an art class and an art exhibition, a dramatic club, a chorus, a concert orchestra, and a free library staffed by retired members. The union has beginning and advanced typing and stenography classes, a bookkeeping class, English and Spanish classes, a guitar class, a class in ballroom dancing, and a dancing class for the teen-age children of members. It has Negro, Spanish, Jewish, Irish, and Italian "affairs committees" which conduct discussion and social and philanthropic events of special interest to each. The fee for classes is usually nominal—a couple of dollars—and outside professional instruction is often provided.

District 65 members, whose average earnings are $67 a week, pay weekly union dues averaging 65 to 85 cents. The philosophy behind the manifold activities described here—with their unique membership participation—has also produced an exceptional record in "union business," including collective bargaining and the administration of high-benefit pension, insurance, and health funds, all employer-paid. An important feature of the various social-welfare services is the fact that they are operated on a self-insured basis with the exception of the medical plan, which provides for coverage by the Health Insurance Plan (HIP) of Greater New York. It is general knowledge in the labor movement that District 65 benefits under these plans are among the highest in the country.

The bulk of the members are covered by pensions, and new ones are being negotiated for those not yet covered. District 65's latest step toward realizing a cradle-to-the-grave welfare goal is its recent purchase of five acres in the Kensico cemetery in Westchester County, New York. The cost was $30,000 an acre, a total of $150,000. The union makes available free burial for its deceased members, or otherwise provides $280 for funeral expenses.

There are more imposing buildings in New York than 13 Astor Place, but there is none which offers more to the people who use it. It stands as a monument to what a trade union can be.

THEY WON'T GO HOME

Chiang's Guerrillas in Burma . . *by Charles S. Brant*

WHEN about two and a half years ago Burma, troubled by the long-continued presence of Chinese Nationalist troops in its northeast border region, announced the launching of a military drive against them, it declined any suggestion of a U. N. investigating mission on the ground that Communist China would distrust such a group. Last year the question of the Kuomintang forces in Burma came before the U. N. General Assembly, made the front pages of the newspapers for a short while, and soon afterward receded into the background. But Burma's troubles with Chiang's troops are not over.

The story begins in 1950, when the Chinese Communists came into effective control of Southwest China. In the process some 1,700 Nationalist troops fled across the Yunnan-Burma border to escape capture and disarmament at Communist hands. Situated in very rugged country, the border is difficult to patrol; for centuries people have been crossing it in both directions without detection. Once in Burma, the Nationalist soldiers disappeared into the indigenous Chinese minorities in the towns, or took to living off the peasants by compelling them to provide shelter and food. They refused to heed the request of the Burmese authorities to lay down their arms and be interned in accordance with international law. Nor could the Burmese, occupied with combating their own insurgents, muster the strength to disarm the invaders.

By 1952 the Nationalist contingent in Burma had been increased to some 12,000 by the arrival of troops from For-

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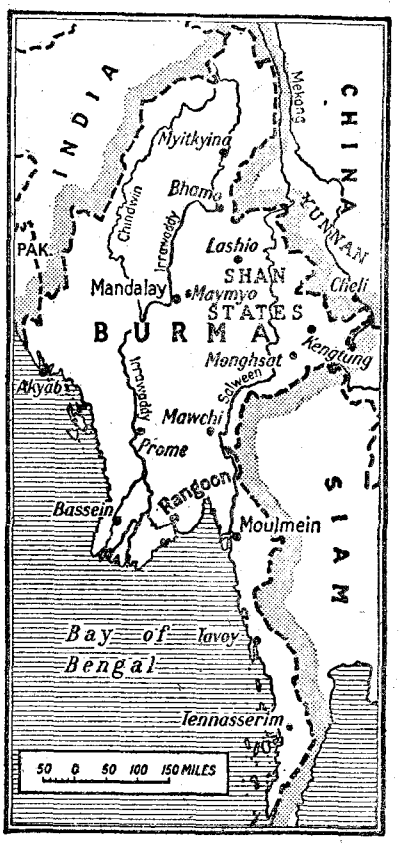

mosa and by the local enlistment of Chinese, either refugees from Yunnan or Chinese residents of Burma. The 12,000 figure is simply a Burmese estimate. When it has suited their purposes the Chinese Nationalist leaders have openly boasted that their Burma contingent contained as many as 35,000 men. In any event their parasitic depredations, extending at times to cooperation with Burmese insurgent groups, became so serious early last year and the whole situation seemed so fraught with possible international complications, that the Burmese felt drastic action was required. Accordingly, in late March, 1953, Rangoon requested that a complaint of aggression against the Chinese Nationalist government be placed on the agenda of the General Assembly.

Here was a test of whether the great powers and their followers, which on previous occasions had reacted to charges of aggression with electric speed, would do so again now that the political shoe was on the other foot, so to speak. The answer was not long in coming. When the Burmese resolution came up for debate in the First Committee, it was soon obvious that some of the larger powers, anxious not to tread on Chinese Nationalists' toes, could and would roundly defeat it. Ultimately a watered-down substitute for the Burmese text, proposed by Mexico and amended by Lebanon and Argentina-Chile, was passed without opposition, Burma and Nationalist China abstaining. In the plenary session of the Assembly the Burmese were faced with accepting half a loaf or nothing. They chose the first course.

THE inane resolution that was adopted declared that Chiang's men did not belong in Burma, that the situation was deplorable, that no member of the U. N. should help them to stay in Burma, and that they should be interned or leave. It suggested that negotiations in progress through the good offices of some member states should continue to be the means of working out a solution, and invited the Burmese to report on the situation again at the next session of the Assembly.

While the resolution did not remove a single Chinese Nationalist soldier from their country, the Burmese felt that the publicity obtained and the pressure of sentiment expressed in the U. N. might have some effect. They proceeded to enlist the American ambassadors in Rangoon, Bangkok, and Taipeh in organizing a four-power committee of the United States, Burma, Siam, and Nationalist China to work out an agreement for evacuating the Nationalist troops from Burmese soil. The committee got off to a bad start when the Chinese Nationalist delegate took the position that his government could only "persuade" the forces in Burma to return to Formosa, lacking authority to compel them to do so. The same delegate told a *Time* correspondent that Burma's complaint had been inspired by the Chinese Communists, a charge which the Burmese denounced as completely false.

The Burmese submitted several alternative plans for evacuation of the Nationalist forces by road and air under the general supervision of the committee. The Siamese indicated that they were ready to permit the Nationalists to pass through Siam en route to Formosa. But the Nationalist delegate simply reiterated that his government had no authority over the troops in Burma. The meetings dragged on, with one Nationalist delaying tactic followed by another. By the end of June, 1953, however, it appeared that an agreement would be signed and a planned evacuation would take place. A few weeks later General Li Mi, the Chinese commander-in-chief in Burma, announced flatly that he would not order his men to withdraw. Pressure was put on Formosa, which dispatched another general to the conference. This one delayed matters further on the ground that he had to await a Chinese translation of the committee proceedings. By the end of July it became clear what the Chinese planned to do. Under a Bangkok dateline of July 24, 1953, the New York *Times* reported:

> Borrowing a concept held by the United States in Korea, most of General Li Mi's Chinese Nationalist guerrillas along the Burma-Yunnan border are now refusing to be evacuated to Formosa from Burma on the ground that they are natives of the border region and that their removal would violate the principle of "voluntary repatriation."

The *Times* account went on to say that despite a basic agreement reached earlier, which left unsettled only minor details, the Chinese Nationalist command had made a separate report to the United States State Department in which it insisted that only a few of the troops in Burma could be withdrawn because most were indigenous, that those desiring to remain should be concentrated in a neutral zone under General Li Mi's command and with a United States guaranty of cease-fire between them and the Burmese army, and that the United States should support these neutral-zone forces "in preparation for any emergency in Southeast Asia." The report also asked that arrangements be made for the forces remaining in Burma to buy food outside the neutral area. When, according to the *Times* story, the State Department flatly refused these demands, General Li Mi threatened to withdraw from the conference. The correspondent added:

> It is an open secret that these forces got some material and financial assistance from the United States for a time. After this aid stopped, the Formosa government began making monthly subsidies to General Li Mi's guerrillas. Formosa is reportedly scheduled to end all financial assistance to the guerrillas this month.

By mid-September the Burmese, weary of the Nationalists' incessant delaying tactics, decided on a real showdown in the four-power committee. On instructions from Rangoon, the Burmese

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delegation asked that an initial evacuation of 5,000 Nationalist troops be begun forthwith. The Chinese delegate called the request unreasonable and offered no counter-proposal. Thereupon the Burmese walked out and proceeded to bomb the Nationalist stronghold at Monghsat while the rump conference continued in Bangkok and eventually agreed on the evacuation of about 2,000 men. The Burmese declared this unacceptable as a solution but indicated willingness to cease military operations against such a group while it departed. At the end of October the Chinese delegate stated that no further aid would be given to those troops remaining behind. This amounted, of course, to an admission of what the Burmese all along had asserted and Formosa had adamantly denied: that the Nationalist government was in fact maintaining and was responsible for the Nationalist troops in Burma. There is also evidence on the same point in intercepted letters written by General Li Mi to his field commanders in Burma, which show clearly that the forces in Burma are closely tied in with the military command and the government on Formosa.

During the last three months of 1953 a few hundred of the Nationalist forces were evacuated. Typical of Nationalist Chinese tactics even in this very limited withdrawal was their attempt to impress some Shans—a people of Burma who look much like Chinese—into their forces and to evacuate them on the pretext that they were part of their contingent. The Associated Press correspondent at the evacuation point last November aptly named this "Evacuation Phony." Last November 16 the London *Times* said:

> The Burma government is still convinced that the promise to withdraw 2,000 out of the estimated 12,000 Kuomintang troops in Union territory is only a face-saving device forced upon the Chinese Nationalist authorities in Formosa by the renewal of Burmese complaints in the United Nations and by steady diplomatic pressure by the Americans. The contention that Formosa controls only 2,000 of these intruders is belied by what is happening at Tachilek. The evacuees are being picked for their poor physical condition and lack of fighting value, apparently with the intention of making up the promised 2,000 without any serious weakening of the intruders' effective strength. Nor does the Burmese government believe that all who are evacuated from Burma will be flown to Formosa. The government of Siam has been helpful, but its frontier with Burma is long and difficult, and many things can happen without its knowledge. It looks as if the authorities in Formosa may be trying to take the sting out of United Nations criticism by a token evacuation of ineffectives. This cannot be tolerated.

Since the beginning of this year the freeing of Burmese forces from much of their long preoccupation with native rebel movements has made possible a more concerted drive against the Chinese Nationalists. The result has been some acceleration in the tempo of their withdrawal. Yet after nearly five years at least half the invading force—about 6,000 men—are still on Burmese soil. Burma's chief U. N. delegate declared a year ago that a threat of ouster from the U. N. issued to the Formosa government would cause the Nationalist troops to leave Burma within a month. The General Assembly may have opportunity at its forthcoming session to consider some such action. The Burmese are entitled to know whether in the lexicon of the West nothing is aggression unless carried out by Communists.

EDINBURGH FESTIVAL

Interlude in the Cold War . . *by Bernard Landis*

Edinburgh

THE Edinburgh International Festival, brain-child of Rudolph Bing when the controversial manager of the Metropolitan Opera was directing the Glyndebourne Opera, has enjoyed a resounding success each year since its inception in 1947. This year, during the three-week period that ended September 11, nearly 250,000 persons visited this ancient city to enjoy the music, art, dance, and drama that the Festival offered, leaving well over $10,000,000 in the hands of local merchants. Unfortunately this financial prosperity has caused a serious conflict between performers and composers on the one side and program directors and merchants on the other, and not only in Edinburgh but in every European festival city. Festival managements have become increasingly reluctant to put on new or experimental works for fear of alienating the tourists who lay the golden eggs.

In spite of the protests it must be acknowledged that Edinburgh presented a most impressive program. There were concerts by the Statsradiofonien Orchestra from Copenhagen under the direction of Erik Tuxen, Thomas Jensen, and Paul Kletzi; by the L'Orchestre National de la Radiodiffusion Française, conductor Charles Munch; by the Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk under Hans Schmidt Isserstedt; by the Hallé under Sir John Barbirolli; by the Philadelphia under Guido Cantelli and Herbert von Tarajan. Outstanding performances were given by such soloists as Claudio Arrau and Isaac Stern; excellent chamber recitals by the Pascal String Quartet, the Kehr String Trio, the Amadeus String Quartet, the Jaques Orchestra, and other ensembles from every corner of Europe. Further, the Festival provided some superb theater, opera, and dance.

The major theatrical event was the production of "The Matchmaker," Thornton Wilder's revised version of his earlier "The Merchant of Yonkers."

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This philosophical farce, in which Sam Levene and Ruth Gordon were featured, played nightly to a crowded house. Wilder himself admitted that the Festival authorities slipped up in not offering more fresh new material, but he rationalized that the international character of the program more than compensated for this lack by demonstrating that "the things which unite all peoples are more important than those which separate them. Only when this fact is fully known will world peace be a reality."

The Old Vic Company's production of "Macbeth" was thoroughly satisfying thanks largely to the genius of Paul Rogers in the principal role and the use of an apron stage, which added drive to the drama. The Sadler's Wells Ballet presented a Homage to Diaghilev program to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the death of the famous Russian impresario. Margot Fonteyn, ballet's most perfect instrument, danced in Stravinsky's "L'Oiseau de Feu," which Diaghilev first produced in 1910. Leading the orchestra was Ernest Ansermet, his conductor and friend, who had left the podium when Diaghilev died. This was Ansermet's first appearance in twenty-five years, and it was brilliantly received.

The Glyndebourne Opera turned out competent if uninspired renderings of Mozart's "Cosi Fan Tutte" and Rossini's "Le Comte Ory." The revival of Strauss's "Ariadne auf Naxos" suffered from an excruciatingly dull dramatic vehicle and all the clichés of nineteenth-century staging. However, as compensation, music lovers were treated to a magnificent performance of Stravinsky's "The Soldier's Tale" starring Moira Shearer.

In putting on Schönberg's "Gurrelieder," a work requiring a vast orchestra, five soloists, a twelve-part male choir, and a tremendous chorus, the Festival authorities partially vindicated their boast of presenting the very best of the world's music. In few other places could all the necessary talent have been assembled. And no better conductor could have been found than Karl Rankl, a former student of Schönberg.

WHILE the Festival proved a first-rate tourist drawing card, contemporary artists were undeniably neglected. The void, however, was partially filled by the dozens of small theater groups from all over England and the Continent which came and set up tent around the Festival area. These migrants, considerably more numerous this season than ever before, provide what has come to be known as the "Fringe" Festival. It turned out to be one of the most rewarding attractions.

Here, in Edinburgh's "off-Broadway" regions, the Oxford Theater put on the first British production of "Dog Beneath the Skin," the Auden-Isherwood satire which was so successfully produced by the Interplayers five years ago in New York. Other groups put on puppet shows, late-night musical revues, folk dancing, poetry recitals, and experimental films. At least six new plays were produced in makeshift theaters. By these means writers and musicians have tried to convince the Festival authorities that they make a mistake in not sponsoring contemporary works.

A more disturbing charge has been voiced by leading Scottish citizens—that the Festival has taken little from Scottish arts. One newspaper referred to the sessions as the "London Festival in Edinburgh." The few bones thrown to allay this complaint served only to increase it. A performance of "The Other Dear Charmer," a play about Robert Burns, was dull and uninspired. A revue featuring Scotland's traditional songs and dances lacked real flavor. The Newhaven Fisher Lassies' Choir, which boasted not a single genuine fisher lassie, was effective in popular Scottish ballads but inadequate to the ancient Gaelic songs that are still sung in the Highlands.

One group of citizens protested against the paucity of Scottish material by organizing the People's Festival, which ran concurrently with the International Festival. Designed to "make the real music and drama of Scotland more accessible to the working classes at reasonable prices," it was in fact a futile and unhappy gesture. When Hugh MacDiarmid—Scotland's greatest poet since Burns and the leading spirit in the literary activity of the past quarter-century (known as the Scottish Renascence)—addressed the opening session, the dim hall contained scarcely a hundred persons.

Again the "Fringe" Festival came to the rescue and partially made up for the lack of Scottish material in the International's program. Duncan Macrae, the famous Scots comedian, acted in "Gog and Magog," a play written especially for him by James Bridie. A company from the Church of Scotland Gateway Theater performed Byron's "Cain." The Saltire Society, an organization dedicated to the revival of early Scottish culture, provided genuinely stirring recitals of contemporary and ancient Scottish music and poetry.

THE International Festival's film program was an unqualified success from every point of view. From 38 countries came 30 feature-length films and 200 shorts. Most of the major showings were films of ideas dealing with such themes as the cold war and the atomic threat. The most interesting were "Young Lovers," a British product directed by Anthony Asquith, and "Avant le Deluge," a French film directed by André Cayatte. The former was not only a moving love story but a forceful indictment of the cold war. The latter, a rather terrifying picture of the young generation in France, was discussed by Alexander Werth in *The Nation* for July 19.

The theme of the Polish film "Five Boys of Barska Street" also had social significance, being the difficulties of youngsters adjusting themselves to the changing conditions of post-war Warsaw. More violent, but also to be classed as films of ideas, were "Riot in Cell Block 11," from the United States, and "The Dark River," an Argentine film that describes the inhuman treatment of workers before the advent of unions.

Not all the films were serious, of course. Relief was provided by "Trio Ballet," a Soviet item; "The Show Is On," a highly entertaining circus film from Czechoslovakia; Walt Disney's "Prowlers of the Everglades"; and a number of documentary, experimental, and scientific films.

Whether the International Festival has more than entertainment value was the question tossed about in the press club in the late hours of the nights after the theaters, music halls, and movie houses were shut. Dozens of journalists from all over Europe and the Americas discussed the matter over their drinks, and perhaps the answer was implicit in that very fact.

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BOOKS

The Unconscious of a Race

THE PALM-WINE DRINKARD. By Amos Tutuola. Grove Press. $2.75.

MY LIFE IN THE BUSH OF GHOSTS. By Amos Tutuola. Grove Press. $3.50.

By John V. Murra

IN 1952 the United Society for Christian Literature in London received for publication a manuscript from Lagos, Nigeria, whose author was Amos Tutuola, a messenger in a government office. It was not the kind of material they usually handled; still, they were willing to pass it on. Soon afterward Faber and Faber brought out "The Palm-Wine Drinkard" to considerable critical acclaim; since then an American edition and a French translation have also been published. Writing in the *New Statesman,* V. S. Pritchett found in the tales an expression of "the unconscious of a race and even moments of the nightmare elements in our own unconscious. The slimy or electric movements of nightmare, its sickening logic, its hypnotizing visual quality, its dreadful meaningfulness, are put down by an earnest and ingenious story-teller." The work received no such welcome from West African readers. Babasola Johnson, in the weekly *West Africa,* went so far as to say that it "should not have been published at all."

Mr. Tutuola's second book, "My Life in the Bush of Ghosts," has just appeared. Like the first, it uses elements and tales of traditional Yoruba folklore; a seven-year-old boy escapes from his village during a slave raid and wanders through the off-limits forest of the Ghosts for twenty-four hair-raising years. His adventures include transformations into a cow that cannot eat grass and into a chief judge in the Ghosts' Assize Court who is a graduate of a Ghost Methodist School; he is sentenced at least twice to be sacrificed and for a while is elevated to godhood and in turn receives sacrifices; he marries two ghost women, one of them a super-lady, who live in Nameless Town where women have mustaches because they have been abandoned by their husbands and "now none of them could marry any male again except to marry ladies as husbands." Eventually the hero gets home, but not until his head is cut off and "mistakenly a ghost head [is put] on my neck instead of mine. But as every ghost is talkative, so this head was always making various noises both day and night and also smelling badly. . . . It would be talking out the words which I did not mean in my mind and was telling out all my secret plans." At one point in his odyssey a ghostess who knows the way home refuses to help him unless he spends ten years licking the sores which have beset her for two hundred years. To encourage him to stay "she told me to look at her palm and opened it nearly to touch my face, it was exactly as a television, I saw my town, mother, brother, and all my playmates, then she was asking me frequently . . . tell me, now, yes or no?"

The images from Western technology which so delighted the literary critics in the "Drinkard" are still here: "If all the heads and herself were eating at the same time their mouths would be making noises as if one hundred winches were working together." There are fewer pleasant experiences; the good life occasionally found by the Drinkard as he searches for his palm-wine tapster is almost absent in the "Bush." Christianity and God with a capital G, unmentioned in the first work, provide us here with a striking example of syncretism, the intimate blend of two cultural traditions: in the Tenth Town of the Ghosts the hero's cousin introduces Christianity. He "goes direct" to H. M. the King of the Bush of Ghosts and gets permission to erect a "90 x 70 [church], the roof covered with flat bark of the big trees, because there were no iron sheets. . . . Written with bold letters with the white juice of a tree [was a sign] . . . THE METHODIST CHURCH OF THE BUSH OF GHOSTS." He reports on church and Sunday-school attendance: "It was very poor . . . at the evening service and was forty-eight in all, because all ghosts like to go to their farms for their food every evening." In time the Tenth Town becomes headquarters for an elaborate organization, with a synod, schools, and hospitals; the ghost cousin becomes a bishop, ordained in a dream.

Like any first-class teller of folk tales, Mr. Tutuola has modified and projected while retelling his traditional material. A second reinterpretation took place when he chose to write in English, not Yoruba; the reader who discovers African literature here does so through Tutuola's wonderfully terse, graphic, and personal use of what Dylan Thomas called his "young English." The author's formal, Western-style education did not begin until he was ten, and continued off and on for some six years. We are told that "his own spoken and written English are identical." Turns of phrase which so charm the Western reader are frequently literal translations from the Yoruba. He does not hesitate to coin words: the Drinkard was not a drunk—he just drank palm-wine in a serious and purposeful manner; Deads' Town may be a literal translation, but it also seems poetically more appropriate than Town of the Dead.

IT IS just this poetic use of the English language that facilitates the rejection of Tutuola's work by many West African readers. They are shocked by its crudities, the lack of inhibition, the occasional obscurities; it seems "a long tale in a language we did not understand." To a reader whose excellent English or French is gained at the cost of neglecting his own tongue, mostly in mission schools with their distrust of the pupil's spontaneity and imagination—Shakespeare and the Governor's Annual Report are the proffered models in matters of style—all this recognition for "translating Yoruba ideas in almost the same sequence as they occur to his mind" must indeed be a puzzle and a shock. To clarify the author's "Unreturnable Heaven's Land," one reader proposes "the undiscover'd country from whose bourn no traveler returns."

The rejection, actually, goes deeper than the matter of language. Articles

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and letters to the press point to the "commonplace" character of the stories ("I heard these from my own grandmother") and even suggest plagiarism from another collection; Tutuola's obvious immersion in the mythological past, with its gods, ghosts, wars, sacrifices, and submerged terrors, seems a preoccupation which delays progress; the genre shows "no marks of possible future development" into a modern West African literature. They end by wondering at the reasons why Tutuola's books so delight the outsider. As Adeagbo Akinjogbin put it in *West Africa,* "most Europeans are pleased to believe all sorts of fantastic tales about Africa. . . . Incapable of giving accurate information, [Tutuola] just suits the temper of his European readers as they seem to confirm their concepts of Africa."

Here the effects of colonial status on intellectual attitudes can easily be seen. Unfamiliar, because of a colonial education, with the creative role of folklore in the development of Hindu, Slavic, and Chinese literatures, the West African middle class rejects, we hope temporarily, its own rich oral tradition and sees in Tutuola's success only the European's preference for an Africa where savagery is the dominant theme. As African political problems are resolved through independence, the development of imaginative literature in the major West African languages is likely to become a dominant interest, as is now happening in India. The skepticism about their future as literary languages is akin to that which existed in 1800 about the possibility of a Rumanian, Brazilian, or Finnish novel. West African newspapers are already deluged with notices by persons shedding mission-given European names for African ones, and a demand for fiction in Twi and Wolof, for Ewe or Ibo poetry, and for drama in Mandingo and Kru is sure to confront the European-trained West African leaders in the years to come.

Was World War I Inevitable?

THE ORIGINS OF THE WAR OF 1914. By Luigi Albertini. Oxford University Press. Two Volumes. $20, or $11 each.

By Hans Kohn

LUIGI ALBERTINI was for many years editor of the leading Italian newspaper, *Corriere della Sera,* and senator of the Italian kingdom. Thus he was in close contact with international events from 1900 to 1914. Before his death in 1942 he left a detailed work on the origins of the First World War, which has now been translated into English and edited by Dr. Isabella Massey. Its first volume covers the period from the Congress of Berlin in 1878 to the eve of the assassination of the Austrian heir to the throne at Sarajevo in June, 1914. The second volume deals with the personality of Francis Ferdinard and the threads of the conspiracy of which he became victim, and with the events of the fateful month of July, 1914. While Western historians have viewed World War I largely as an expression of Anglo-German divergence of views and interests, the Italian author rightly directs his light of observation above all on the Balkan peninsula.

The first volume discusses the more remote causes of the catastrophe. The defeat of Austria by Prussia in 1866 and the ensuing "compromise" with Hungary in 1867 gave the Magyars a dominant position in the Hapsburg monarchy and prevented the transformation of the empire into a federation in which the Slav nationalities could play an equal part. The Berlin Congress of 1878 set the stage for the growing antagonism between Germany and Austria on the one hand, Russia and Serbia on the other. At the beginning of the twentieth century the German program of naval armament, the immoderation of the Kaiser's language and the boastful utterances of the German nationalists, the overbearing policy of prestige carried on by Bülow in 1905 and 1908—all these laid up a store of mistrust and suspicion against Germany, though the Germans, for good reasons, did not wish to provoke a general conflagration. Yet inevitably their policy or lack of clear policy created a degree of international tension of which they were finally to bear the consequences.

But even the high degree of international tension did not make war inevitable. It could have been averted, as it had been in preceding crises, if wiser counsels had prevailed among statesmen and peoples alike. Sazonov maintained that an open promise of British support for France and Russia of a purely defensive character would have prevented Germany from starting too confidently on the dangerous road. But the Russian ambassador in London at the time, Count Benckendorff, painted a picture of British public opinion, applicable to American public opinion as well, which made such a prevention of war impossible. "Along with Utopian radicalism," he wrote on February 25, 1914, to his Minister of Foreign Affairs, "and the present utter lack of interest of the country in foreign affairs there still exists that terrible insular spirit which, though a bit shaken, is still too all-pervading. Not until the eve of some tremendous crisis would the English of today wake up."

THE most exciting pages in the second volume concern the atmosphere around the assassination of Francis Ferdinand. He was immolated precisely because he had embraced the idea of federalism and of concession to the Slavs. Nor did he relish the subordination of Austria to Germany and sought instead the friendship of Russia. He disapproved of the repression of the Slavs and Rumanians, for which he put the chief blame on the compromise of 1867 and on the Magyars. "The outrage organized against [Francis Ferdinand] was inspired by nationalism, a political concept of great moment for the future of the Yugoslav people and the history of Europe. It gained its end by one of the greatest tragedies the human race has ever known." Volume II carries the story to the last day of July, the general mobilization by Austria-Hungary, when a European war seemed almost inevitable. A third volume will discuss the German and British declarations of war.

Albertini writes with great lucidity and with an intimate knowledge of men and sources. The three volumes taken

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HANS KOHN, professor of history at the City College of New York, is author of "Pan-Slavism, Its History and Ideology" and editor of "German History. Some New German Views."

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together may well be the definitive work on the origins of the war of 1914, so far as diplomatic history can deal with it. But diplomatic history is not enough. Statesmen do not act in a vacuum. The situations with which they have to deal were created by popular forces, and governments themselves are in modern times subject to the pressure of popular moods and nationalist attitudes. These are different in each nation and even vary within a nation at different times. The history of international relations—and the "responsibilities" for war and peace—will only be understood in their great complexity if the historical backgrounds and inner motivations, the national ideologies and social structures of the various peoples are taken fully into account. In modern times these relations are not so much determined by the ambitions or mistakes of individual statesmen—though they play their part—as by nationalism in its various forms, which has made Germans and Serbs, Russians and English, French and Italians react differently to the challenges with which the European situation in the twentieth century has confronted them.

Pioneer Government Scientist

BEYOND THE HUNDREDTH MERIDIAN. John Wesley Powell and the Second Opening of the West. By Wallace Stegner. Houghton Mifflin Company. $6.

By Keith Hutchison

JOHN WESLEY POWELL is remembered today, if he is remembered at all, as the man who led the first exploring party through the Grand Canyon. This exploit launched him on the career of government scientist and led him in due course to Washington, where he encountered more savage enemies than he had met in the Western wilderness and was finally wrecked in the political rapids.

Mr. Stegner gives a detailed account of the Grand Canyon adventure, and a thrilling story it is. But, as he recognizes, Powell's historical importance is related to his subsequent activities. He was the founder of the Bureau of Ethnology that has systematized the study of American Indian culture; he inspired the organization of the Geological Survey and later became its chief; he established government-sponsored scientific research on a firm basis; above all, he was the man who first surveyed with a realistic eye the limitations and potentialities of the arid lands of the West and developed plans for their productive use.

It was Powell who insisted that beyond the 100th meridian, where the average rainfall was below twenty inches, successful farming demanded irrigation. Consequently, the traditional survey-settlement pattern developed in the East was inapplicable. The homesteader's quarter-section was more than one family could handle if it was irrigated, while for cattle or sheep it was totally inadequate. Moreover, to get maximum benefits from the available water it was essential to prevent owners of favored lands from monopolizing the supply; each hydrographic basin should be treated as a unit and developed as a self-governing irrigation district, with each settler guaranteed his share of water.

These ideas clashed both with the myths of rugged individualism and with the myths of unlimited plenty. The drought of the late 1880's, which fulfilled Powell's prophecies, illustrated the folly of imposing wet-weather institutions on dry-weather country. That shock helped to secure authorization of the irrigation surveys that Powell advocated. But the work required temporary closing of the public domain in the arid regions, a step that aroused Western politicians, and in due course vested ignorance, vested prejudices, and vested interests combined to halt the survey and force Powell's retirement.

In the sixty years that have since passed most of Powell's ideas on land use and management have been adopted. But as Mr. Stegner points out, "the forces that he fought all through his public life are, as of 1953, not only still there but active and aggressive. The agencies that he helped consolidate still persist in division and antagonism. The

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KEITH HUTCHISON, a contributing editor of The Nation, *is the author of "The Decline and Fall of British Capitalism."*

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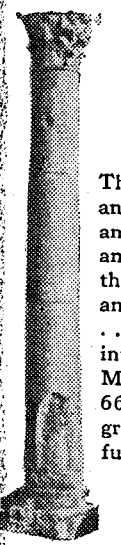

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private interests that he feared might monopolize land or water in the West are still there, still trying to do just that. . . . in 1953 a public-land policy that a few years before looked reasonably consistent and settled was in danger of complete overturn."

Since this is the case, Stegner's book, the fruit of many years' labor, is brilliantly timely. May it have the readers it deserves! It is beautifully produced, with good maps and magnificent illustrations; it is the work of a careful scholar who writes with artistry. I am prepared to nominate it for the next Pulitzer Prize for American history.

Books in Brief

On Puberty Rites

SYMBOLIC WOUNDS. By Bruno Bettelheim. Free Press. $4.75.

Clinical observation of young adolescents at the Sonia Shankman Orthogenic School of the University of Chicago, where Dr. Bettelheim is professor of psychology, led him to review the hypothesis held by anthropologists and psychoanalysts concerning the meaning of puberty initiation rites. The observed children developed fantasies and rituals similar to those rites of primitive peoples which it had previously been held were imposed by elders as symbolic castration or as *rites de passage* to introduce the adolescent into adult society.

The author's studies show that these rites are initiated by the adolescents themselves as an attempt to master instinctive wishes in the terms of the roles they wish to play in society. Circumcision and subincision are seen as efforts of the envious male to give himself some semblance of female sexual functions, especially fertility. A reexamination of pertinent anthropological and psychoanalytic writings supports Dr. Bettelheim's thesis.

This scholarly work is well written and is easy to follow, even though it deals with rather difficult technical themes. Anthropology and psychoanalysis are admirably woven together. The book illustrates two modern trends—the integration of knowledge from several scientific disciplines, and the enlarged recognition of the role of the mother in the developmental and conflictual areas of human behavior. The latter trend has become so strong that, despite its correctness, there may soon be expected a reaction in the form of a Society for the Reintroduction of the Father into Anthropology and Psychoanalysis.

Colette's Wonderful Life

COLETTE: A PROVINCIAL IN PARIS. By Margaret Crosland. British Book Center. $3.50.

A chatty, anecdotal book about the woman who began as a writer of spicy semi-autobiographical novels and in her eighties became the Grand Old Lady of contemporary French letters. An odder story was never told. By birth and inclination Colette was a provincial ingenue almost obsessively devoted to her mother, her many pets, and the Burgundian village where she grew up. Married at twenty to a Parisian boulevardier and hack journalist named Willy, she was soon added to his stable of ghost writers and before too long she was writing the "Claudine" books of which he was the supposed principal author, although he seems to have contributed little except the insistence that they be peppered up with scandalous incidents. Finally rid of him and subsequently married twice more, she began to find herself but did not publish the first of her most successful books, "Cheri," until she was forty-seven. Curiously innocent of political opinions and of moral judgments, she was endowed with tremendous sensibility, a fine eye for concrete physical detail, and a rueful wit. Apropos a short biographical film shown four years ago she said: "What a wonderful life I've had. I only wish I'd realized it sooner."

Technician of Violence

KESSELRING: A SOLDIER'S RECORD. By Field Marshal Albert Kesselring. Morrow. $5.

In the century of total war military specialists, like scientists, tend to become cogs in machines. Marshal Kesselring here stands self-revealed as an automaton, ably and loyally serving a cause

GOD AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

(Beyond selling space for publication of the accompanying material, *The Nation* is not to be held responsible for statements contained in the material)

The term "God" (*Elohim*) has come to us out of the fierce warfare of the Hebrew prophets against the tyranny and injustice represented by "Baal" and other heathen gods. "The name Baal became the very signature of heathenism", writes Prof. G. F. Moore (Commentary on Judges, p. 195). The struggle for social justice, against Baal and other gods was the driving force which, in Canaan, or Palestine, carried the idea of God authentically upward from heathenism to Ethical Monotheism. In its essence, therefore, the term God became the concrete, emotional symbol of social justice.

The churches, accordingly, must prepare themselves to cease using the powerful term God as the synonym of a merely personal, or individual, righteousness; and they must begin to use it as a concrete, emotional instrumentality of social vision. This is not the claim of some obscure sect; it is the mandate of scientific Biblical scholarship in our progressive theological seminaries and outstanding universities. We have reached a new epoch in which the leading religious question must be, *What think ye of God?*

No sooner did triumphant monotheism come down from the highlands of Palestine into the vast and sordid plain of world history than bookish men—indoor philosophers—went to work on the term God. They robbed it of its concrete, emotional value as a symbol of objective, outdoor, social justice. And they transformed it into a theological abstraction, "The Supreme Being", enthroned in the heavens, and endowed with "attributes" to be discussed at leisure for many centuries in class rooms.—This is not the whole story. A few suggestions will be found in a circular which will be sent to you for a three-cent stamp to cover postage. (Requests without stamp will bring no result). L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

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which he never questioned and of which he had no comprehension. Kesselring was sentenced to death in 1947 for the shooting of 335 Italians in the Ardeatine catacombs near Rome on March 24, 1944. But the sentence was commuted. He was released from prison and pardoned in 1952 and thus enabled to write his memoirs, which, as is usual in such cases, demonstrate that the motivations of all his acts were pure and lofty.

These reminiscences, prefaced by S. L. A. Marshall, the United States army's chief historian of the European Theater, who says he respects Kesselring as a *man,* add grist to the mills of military historians. "Smiling Al" joined the Bavarian army in 1904 and ultimately became commander of the Nazi Luftwaffe, invader of Russia, Mediterranean commander, defender of Italy, and finally Rundstedt's successor as commander in the West in the last desperate months of the war. He holds that the Luftwaffe was not defeated in the Battle of Britain and that an invasion was possible. He denounces Rommel, ridicules the Italian war effort, and criticizes Hitler for not appreciating the importance of the Mediterranean arena.

As to what the tumult and shouting were about Kesselring professes innocent ignorance. "Whether our indifference to political events was right or wrong, we had no need to, nor could we, bother our heads about them." Yet he realized that the building of the Luftwaffe "resuscitated trade and reduced unemployment." And, under arrest, he found "that soldiers are often better and more sensitive politicians than those who feel they have a vocation for that profession." Kesselring was never a soldier-turned-politician. Yet in his blind subservience to politicians-turned-soldiers, he and his fellow-officers of the Wehrmacht, now all restored to respectability, are frightening portents of our time.

Steamship Saga

ABOARD THE FLYING SWAN. By Stanley Wolpert. Scribner's. $3.75.

"Aboard the Flying Swan" is an odd name for this first novel by Stanley Wolpert, since it brings to mind the slim ships and gallant sailors of the days of sail. Wolpert's heroes, however, are the great machines that drive modern steamships and the sweat-drenched men who drive the machines.

A young man, Bob Williams, returns as a third assistant engineer after years away from the sea—years during which he has forgotten his job. An old "workbull," Nikolai Karenkov, hammers him back into shape, and the two become fast friends after an initial period of mutual exasperation. The engine room's superior officers, however, are corrupt; they steal and sell vital machine parts and try to frame Karenkov. After several tragedies the villain gets his just deserts and young Bob Williams faces a better future, having learned the deeper meaning of engine rooms and the men who work there.

Wolpert evokes characters and setting in language which at times becomes a poetry of power. There are flaws, to be sure: insistent use of dialect, for example, is an almost constant irritation. And there are unfortunate attempts at sophistication and some awkwardness in narrative structure. The author of "Aboard the Flying Swan," however, has a sure instinct for pace and characterization.

Political Nightmare

THE NIGHTMARE. By C. S. Forester. Little, Brown. $3.50.

According to recent reports the West German government has begun atomic research, while the foes of Nazi Germany, involved in new world tensions, make every effort to achieve collective amnesia. C. S. Forester's volume of short stories, "The Nightmare," deals with the blood-drenched years of the Third Reich. The book may be diplomatically embarrassing, but it seems a needed corrective at the present time. The ten stories, many of which are based on actual records, provide an incisive portrait of an entire civilization reeking with death. A master of narrative structure, Forester reinforces understatement with irony. The result is a vivid and bitter recreation of Nazi power manipulations.

The horror, however, does not lie in the violence of the material. On the contrary, the very absence of emotion provokes the deepest repulsion. From the "honorable soldiers" who themselves were finally destroyed by the Nazi re-

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gime to the commandants of concentration camps and death factories, there is a nightmare of propriety and order. Papers are filled out; forms are observed to the letter; the good people avoid asking themselves disturbing questions. The wives of S. S. men and other élite "smiled and discussed airy nothings, perhaps as a butcher's wife will talk to another butcher."

"The Nightmare" is not completely successful as fiction, for Forester occasionally depends on device rather than drama, event rather than motivation. What emerges is a new type of mind, killing scientifically as if killing were not involved at all, acting as simply and righteously as a hired hand leading cattle to the slaughterhouse. The book renews doubts as to whether these minds, conforming to a national double-think of moral murder only a decade ago, have been entirely transformed into dependable allies in the present disordered world. Many readers will feel that this, perhaps, is the greatest nightmare of all.

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Selected New Books

American Affairs

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By Oscar Handlin. Harvard. $3.75. An excellent review of changes in the melting pot during the past fifty years, changes brought about by restriction of European immigration, the influx of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, and internal shifts of population induced by two wars and the depression. It is a story with some ugly episodes, such as the war-time uprooting of the Japanese Americans, but Dr. Handlin emphasizes improvements in interracial and intercultural relations and progress in the direction of the American ideal of unity coupled with diversity.

MINORITIES AND THE AMERICAN PROMISE. THE CONFLICT OF PRINCIPLE AND PRACTICE. By Stewart G. Cole and Mildred Wiese Cole. Harper. $4.50. This tenth volume in a series sponsored by the Bureau for Intercultural Education, a study of the structure of American society, complements Dr. Handlin's work and arrives at similar conclusions. Its final chapter, "Americans and Their World Neighbors," discusses problems of intercultural relations on a global scale.

STORMY BEN BUTLER. By Robert S. Holzman. Macmillan. $5. Probably Major General Benjamin F. ("Beast") Butler, never stole any spoons in New Orleans, but the South had good reason to detest the man whose later political career provoked President Hayes's charge that he was "the most dangerous and wicked demagogue we have ever had." In this objective and voluminously documented biography Dr. Holzman refrains from judgments, but the examples he gives of the brutal vindictiveness of this Congressman from Massachusetts recall irresistibly a certain Senator from Wisconsin. Illustrated.

THEY CALLED HIM STONEWALL. By Burke Davis. Rinehart. $5. The last full-scale biography of the dour and eccentric Covenanter who led the Southern Cavaliers with such amazing skill appeared many years ago. Civil War enthusiasts will therefore welcome this book, although Mr. Davis, newspaperman and novelist, has been more successful in his portraiture than in his elucidation of Jackson's strategy. Illustrated.

BOHEMIAN BRIGADE: CIVIL WAR NEWSMEN IN ACTION. By Louis M. Starr. Knopf. $5. A lively account of the men who reported the Civil War and in the process transformed the character of the American press by changing its emphasis from views to news. Mr. Starr has done a thorough piece of research, but his emphasis on the bohemianism of his cast, which includes such men as Henry Villard, Whitelaw Reid, and George Smalley, seems a little forced. Illustrated.

ANNIE OAKLEY OF THE WILD WEST. By Walter Havighurst. Macmillan. $4.50. By herself, Annie Oakley, whose life was compounded of phenomenal but monotonous shooting exploits and conjugal bliss, would hardly fill a book. However, her biographer has successfully padded the story with much colorful material about Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show and produced a very entertaining piece of Americana. Illustrated. KEITH HUTCHISON

Records

B. H. Haggin

BYRD'S Mass in four parts, sung by members of Safford Cape's Pro Musica Antiqua on EMS 234, is a more somber, and for me more affecting, work than the Mass in five parts on the reverse side (it is sung by three male voices and one female, the other by three male and two female). It impressed me even more as sung on a London record a few years ago; but since I am unable at the moment to listen to that record again I can only hazard the guess that the more impressive effect may have been due to use of a larger chorus and a different—and possibly less correct—style of singing. The evenness of the lovely and sensitively inflected singing in these EMS performances tends to make the beautiful writing seem unvarying; but the style and effect may be the correct ones, to which our taste must adapt itself.

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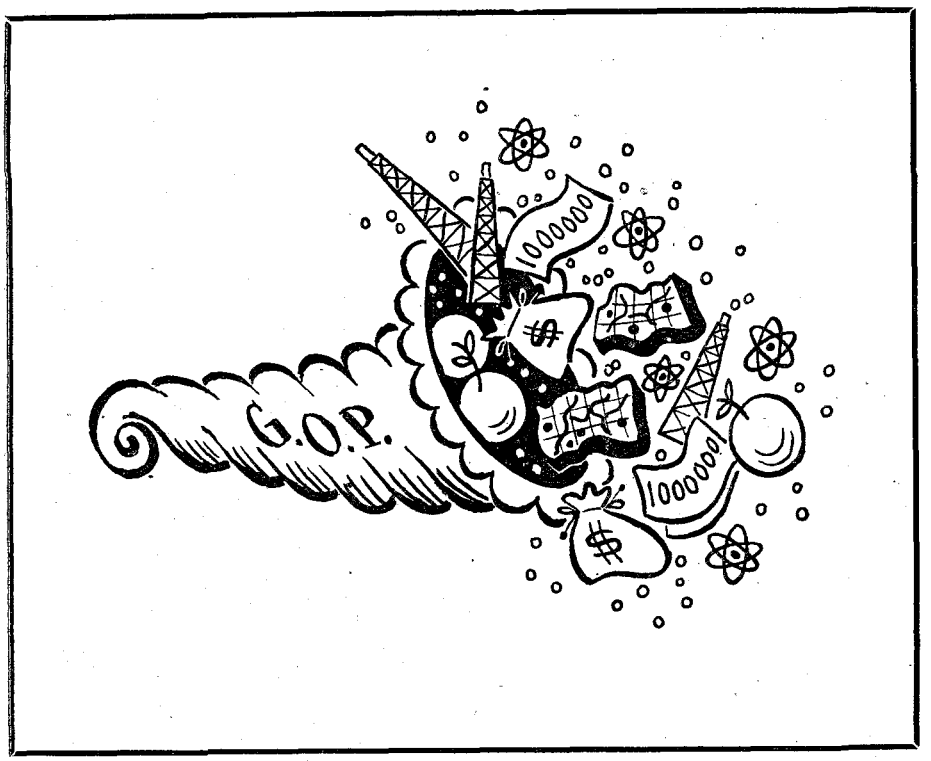

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Buxtehude's Cantatas "Herr, auf Dich traue ich" and "Singet dem Herrn" for soprano, violins, and continuo, and "Lauda Sion Salvatorem" and "Jesu, meine Freude" for chorus and instruments are the first works of his I can recall having found interesting to listen to. They are excellently performed on Overtone 6 by Helen Boatwright, the Choir of St. Thomas's Episcopal Church in New Haven, and a small group of players under Howard Boatwright's direction.

Bach's Goldberg Variations are played on Bach Guild 536 by Gustav Leonhardt, who pounds them out on the harpsichord with the same relentless stolidity as he did the Art of Fuge, and with the same accompaniment of noises of the harpsichord mechanism.

Epic LC-3054 offers a group of fine pieces by Berlioz—the "Roman Carnival" and "Benvenuto Cellini" Overtures, the Trojan March from "The Trojans at Carthage," the usual three pieces from "The Damnation of Faust," and the sequence of *Romeo Alone, Melancholy, Concert and Ball, Great Festivity at the Capulets'* from "Romeo and Juliet" (Berlioz's titles are a more reliable guide to the "Romeo" sequence than the accompanying notes, which make of *Romeo Alone* a "love theme," and of *Melancholy* a theme suggesting "Romeo's longing for his beloved"). Beautiful performances by van Otterloo with the Lamoureux Orchestra, confirming previous impressions of his outstanding quality as conductor and musician. It is regrettable that Epic didn't have him record the other instrumental movements of "Romeo," or the entire work with chorus and soloists.

Epic 3052 offers several of Hans Sachs's solo passages from Wagner's "Die Meistersinger"—*Was duftet doch der Flieder; Wahn! Wahn!;* the Cobbling Song; *Euch macht ihr's leicht;* and *Verachtet mir die Meister nicht*—sung by Otto Edelmann with the Vienna Symphony under Wilhelm Loibner. The first three excerpts are very fine; the last two I find less interesting; and I suggest that the next such record include instead Sachs's superb baptism of Walter's new song. Edelmann was the Sachs of Columbia's Bayreuth "Meistersinger," with a fresh voice that ravished the ear; after only three years of Wagnerian wear and tear the freshness and some of the velvet are gone; but it is still a superb bass, used with impressive effect. The orchestral parts are played well, but their detail is not heard clearly with the singing. On the reverse side are excerpts from "The Flying Dutchman," "Tannhäuser," and "Parsifal."

Reviewing the first RCA Victor Treasury LP a few years ago I said that great singers and singing had not ended with the Golden Age—that Ponselle, Rethberg, and Schipa could have held their own with Farrar and McCormack. I had the same thought as I listened recently to the Scala LP's of acoustical recordings of Destinn and Ponselle in their youth; but in addition I wondered whether Ponselle's flowing sumptuousness and lusciousness was any less extraordinary than the voluminous luster and splendor of Flagstad's voice when she first sang here. And thinking further about why Flagstad impressed many of us as the most phenomenal soprano we had ever heard, I reached the conclusion I had expressed once before—that it was not just the voice but the way of singing.

With other singers we had always been aware of the activity of singing—including the overcoming of difficulties, even though, as in the case of young Ponselle, it was an overcoming of them with sensational ease and beauty. What was sensational with Flagstad was her way of deploying that voluminously lustrous voice in a long phrase, in which it simply began at the beginning and went wherever it was called on to go, rising without effort to a squarely attacked and securely held high note, and going on from this one to another and still another, in thrilling fashion, before descending to complete the phrase—all as though there were no difficulty to overcome, and breath were not even involved.

Nor was it only the ease and naturalness of the deployment but its musical rightness—the way, as the voice proceeded, the phrase emerged perfectly shaped, "as fresh and glistening as creation itself." The unfailing perfection, in those first years, was that of simply inflected phrases; in later years it was that of increasingly subtle inflection, involving more subtle use of a voice that in those later years had to be used with more care and discretion.

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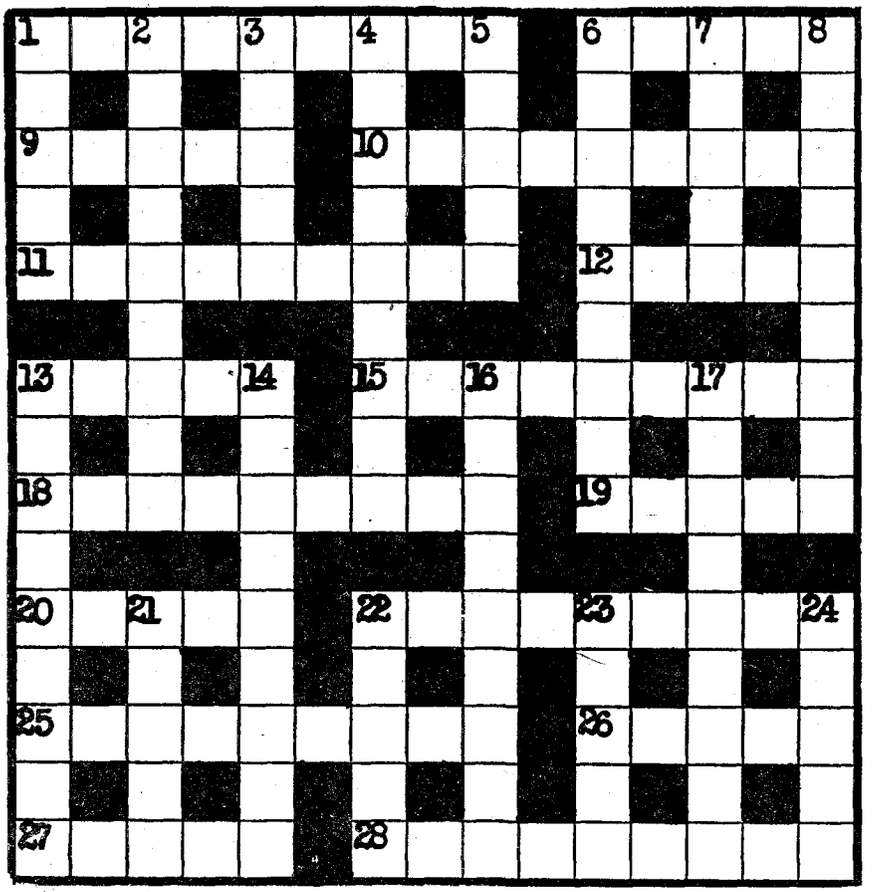
Crossword Puzzle No. 586

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Evidence that a Russian has long hair? (3, 6)
6 He might raise paper or the value of it. (5)
9 Cupid's weapon that is a kind of knife. (5)
10 The sort you put on the barrel-head? (5, 4)
11 Little 1 down might be one of these. (9)
12 Association the Chinese have with a Polynesian kingdom. (5)
13 Enlarges the size of sheets of paper? (5)
15 Put some time in the service branch —several seasons, in fact. (9)
18 The salt of the earth might be here, but they suggest 17 somewhat. (4, 5)
19 Fish with cords. (5)
20 Carriage I would deem hard. (5)
22 Not simple disagreement. (9)
25 Does it smear tar without touching anything? (9)
26 The race is started in case you want to see it. (5)
27 Do they wrap things up in banks? (5)
28 A false story about a tattered sail belonging to a king. (9)

DOWN

1 It's marked by 13-down. (5)
2 The time of little feathers? (9)
3 Overpower. (5)
4 If you see an oar coming, it might be from the land. (9)
5 Formerly a paper had to be passed. (5)
6 Gives the right pitch to the notes? (Or just jangles?) (9)
7 Get ready for the following! (5)
8 Listens to the clarinet around it, perhaps, if practiced. (9)
13 What the communist makes clean, upon interrogation. (9)
14 Should dressing for such times be modeled after the French or Russian? (5, 4)
16 Scrape the hip of the rose, perhaps. (9)
17 A classic one of these was not really an aviator from Amsterdam. (9)
21 Peg, as extended up north. (5)
22 One man you should feed well. (5)
23 Opening responsible for a bird-like sound. (5)
24 So is a different place welcome after a dry spell. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 585

ACROSS:—9 RIGOR; 10 MAY; 11 TRAIT; 12 PATENT; 15 ANTHER; 16 DELIGHT; 17 NUTS; 19 ABED; 21 WASHERS; 22, 18, 23 and 14 OPEN THE DOOR RICHARD; 25 ALERTED; 29 ARENAS; 33 and 35 IN THE WORKS; 36 EJECTOR; 37 PHRASES.

DOWN:—1 HARDPAN; 2 RIGHT; 3 ERRAND; 4 YAMS; 5 KEYS; 6 NUTANT; 7 DEATH; 8 METERED; 13 TENABLE; 15, 1 and 5 across, 34, 27 A HORSE, A HORSE, MY KINGDOM FOR A HORSE; 20 BOO; 22 OPALINE; 24 RESISTS; 25 ASCENT; 26 DRAWER; 28 OUTRE; 29 NARES; 31 AFAR; 32 TRAP.

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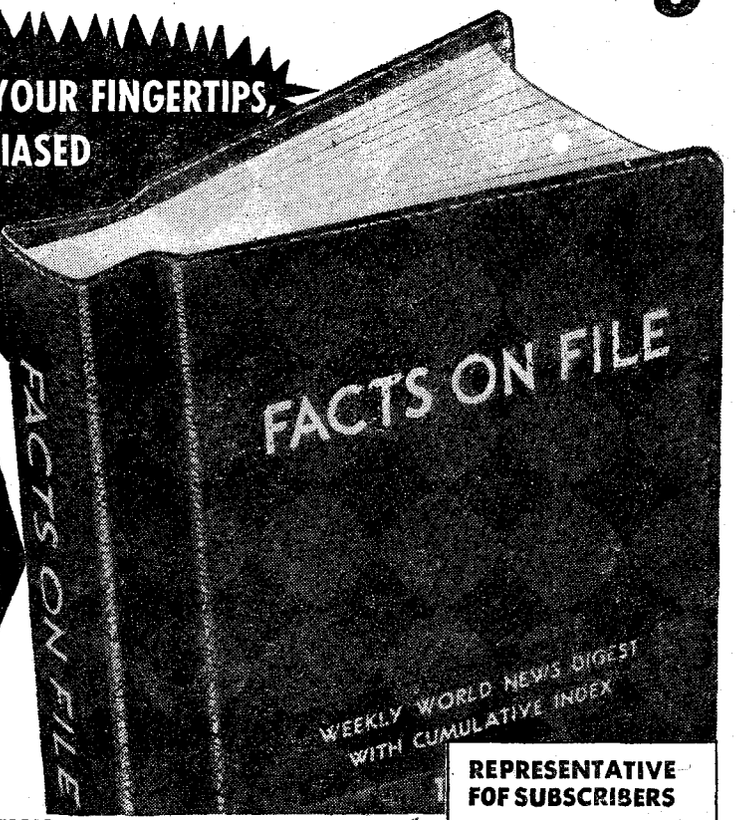

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